S. Howland

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

[The following is the Veto Message of President Johnson, transmitted to the Senate on the 27th of March:]

To the Senate of the United States:

I REGRET that the bill, which has just passed both Houses of Congress, entitled "An Act to Protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights and Furnish the Means of their Vindication," contains provisions which I cannot approve consistently with my sense of duty to the whole people and my obligations to the Constitution of the United States. I am, therefore, constrained to return it to the Senate (the House in which it originated), with my objections to it becoming a law.

By the first section of the bill all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign Power, excluding Indians not taxed, are declared to be citizens of the United States. This provision comprehends the Chinese of the Pacific States, Indians subject to taxation, the people called Gipsies, as well as the entire race designated as blacks, people of color, negroes, mulattoes and persons of African blood. Every individual of these races born in the United States is by the bill made a citizen of the United States. It does not purport to declare or confer any other right of citizenship than Federal citizenship: it does not propose to give these classes of persons any status as citizens of States, except that which may result from their status as citizens of the United States. The power to confer the right of State citizenship is just as exclusively with the several States as the power to confer the right of Federal citizenship is with Congress. The right of Federal citizenship thus to be conferred in the several excepted ratios before mentioned is now for the first time proposed to be given by law.

If, as is claimed by many, all persons who are native born already are, by virtue of the Constitution, citizens of the United States—the passage of the pending bill cannot be necessary to make them such. If, on the other hand, such persons are not citizens, as may be assumed from the proposed legislation to make them such, the grave question presents itself, whether, where eleven of the thirty-six States are unrepresented in Congress at this time, it is sound policy to make our entire colored population and all other excepted classes citizens of the United States. Four million of them have just merged from slavery into freedom. Can it be reasonably supposed that they possess the requisite qualifications to entitle them to all the privileges and immunities of citizenship of the United States? Have the people of the several States expressed such a conviction? It may also be asked whether it is necessary that they should be declared citizens in order that they may be secured in the enjoyment of the civil rights proposed to be conferred by the bill.

Those rights are, by Federal as well as by State laws, secured to all domiciled aliens and foreigners, even before the completion of the process of naturalization; and it may safely be assumed that the same enactments are sufficient to give like protection and benefits to those for whom this bill provides special legislation. Beside, the policy of the Government, from its origin to the present time, seems to have been that persons who are strangers to, and unfamiliar with, our institutions and our laws should pass through a certain probation, at the end of which, before attaining the coveted prize, they must give evidence of their fitness to receive and to exercise the rights of citizens as contemplated by the Constitution of the United States.

The bill, in effect, proposes a discrimination against large numbers of intelligent, worthy and patriotic foreigners, and in favor of the negro, to whom, after long years of bondage, the avenues to freedom and intelligence have just been suddenly opened. He must, of necessity, from his previous unfortunate condition of servitude, be less informed as to the nature and character of our institutions than he who, coming from abroad, has, to some extent, at least, familiarized himself with the principles of a Government to which he voluntarily intrusts life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Yet, it is now proposed by a single legislative enactment to confer the rights of citizens upon all persons of African descent, born within the extended limits of the United States, while persons of foreign birth, who make our land their home, must undergo a probation of five years and can only then become citizens upon proof that they are of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

The first section of the bill also contains an enumeration of the rights to be enjoyed by these classes so made citizens in every State and Territory in the United States. These rights are: To make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties and give evidence in court, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property, and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as are enjoyed by white citizens; so, too, they are made subject to the same punishment, pains and penalties, in common with white citizens, and to none others. Thus, a perfect equality of the white and colored races is attempted to be fixed by Federal law in every State of this Union, over the vast field of State jurisdiction covered by these enumerated rights. In no one of them can any State exercise any power of discrimination between different races.

In the exercise of State policy over matters exclusively affecting the people of each State, it has frequently been thought expedient to discriminate between the two races. By the statutes of some of the States, North as well as South, it is enacted, for instance, that no white person shall intermarry with a negro or mulatto. Chancellor Kent says, speaking of the blacks, that marriages between them and the whites are forbidden in some of the States where slavery does not exist, and they are prohibited in all the slaveholding States by law, and where not absolutely contrary to law, they are revolting, and regarded as an offence against public decorum.

I do not say that this bill repeals State laws on the subject of marriage between the two races; for, as the whites are forbidden to intermarry with the blacks, the blacks can only make such contracts as the whites themselves are allowed to make and, therefore, cannot under this bill enter into the marriage contract with the whites. I cite this discrimination, however, as an instance of the State policy as to discrimination, and to inquire whether, if Congress can abrogate all State laws of discrimination between the two races, in the matter of real estate, of suits, and of contracts generally, Congress may not also repeal the State laws as to the contract of marriage between the races. Hitherto every subject embraced in the enumeration of rights contained in the bill has been considered as exclusively belonging to the States. They all relate to the internal policy and economy of the respective States. They are matters which, in each State, concern the domestic condition of the people, varying in each according to its own peculiar circumstances and the safety and well-being of its own citizens.

I do not mean to say that upon all these subjects there are not Federal restraints, as, for instance, in the State power of legislation over contracts there is a Federal limitation that no State shall pass a law impairing the obligations of contracts; and, as to crimes, that no State shall pass an *ex post facto* law; and, as to money, that no State shall make anything but gold and silver a legal tender. But where can we find a Federal prohibition against the power of any State to discriminate, as do most of them, between aliens and citizens, between artificial persons called corporations and naturalized persons, in the right to hold real estate? If it be granted that Congress can repeal all State laws discriminating between whites and blacks in the subjects covered by this bill, why, it may be asked, may not Congress repeal in the same way all State laws discriminating between the two races on the subjects of suffrage and office?

If Congress can declare by law who shall hold lands, who shall testify, who shall have capacity to make a contract in a State, then Congress can also by law declare who, without regard to race or color, shall have the right to sit as a juror or as a judge, to hold any office, and, finally, to vote in every State and Territory of the United States. As respects the Territories, they come within the power of Congress, for as to them the law-making power is a Federal power; but as to the States no similar provision exists vesting in Congress the power to make rules and regulations for them.

The object of the second section of the bill is to afford discriminating protection to colored persons in the enjoyment of all the rights secured to them by the preceding section. It declares that any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom, shall subject or cause to be subjected any inhabitant of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to different punishment, pains or penalties on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

This section seems to be designed to apply to some existing or future law of a State or Territory which may conflict with the provisions of the bill now under consideration. It provides for counteracting such forbidden legislation by imposing fine and imprisonment upon the legislators who may pass such conflicting laws, or upon the officers or agents who shall put, or attempt to put them into execution. It means an official offence, not a common crime committed against law upon the person or property of the black race. Such an act may deprive the black man of his property, but not of his right to hold property. It means a deprivation of the right itself either by the State judiciary or by the State Legislature.

It is therefore assumed that under this section members of a State Legislature who should vote for laws conflicting with the provisions of the bill, that judges of the State Courts who should render judgments in antagonism with its terms, and that marshals and sheriffs who should, as ministerial officers, execute processes sanctioned by State laws and issued by State judges in execution of their judgments, could be brought before other tribunals, and there subjected to fine and imprisonment for the performance of the duties which such State laws might impose. The legislation thus proposed invades the judicial power of the State. It says to every State court or judge—If you decide that this act is unconstitutional; if you refuse under the prohibition of a State law to allow a negro to testify; if you hold that over such a subject matter the said law is paramount, and under color of a State law refuse the exercise of the right to the negro, your error of judgment, however conscientious, shall subject you to fine and imprisonment.

I do not apprehend that the conflicting legislation which the bill seems to contemplate is so likely to occur as to render it necessary at this time to adopt a measure of such doubtful constitutionality. In the next place, this provision of the bill seems to be unnecessary, as adequate judicial remedies could be adopted to secure the desired end without invading the immunities of legislators, always important to be preserved in the interest of public liberty, without assailing the independence of the judiciary, always essential to the preservation of individual rights, and without impairing the efficiency of ministerial officers, always necessary for the maintenance of public peace and order. The remedy proposed by this section seems to be in this respect not only anomalous but unconstitutional; for the Constitution guarantees nothing with certainty if it does not insure to the several States the right of making laws in regard to all matters within their jurisdiction subject only to the restriction of the Constitution and constitutional laws of the United States, the latter in case of conflict, to be held as the supreme law of the land.

The third section gives the district courts of the United States exclusive cognizance of all crimes and offences committed against the provisions of this act, and concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit courts of the United States of all civil and criminal cases affecting persons who are denied, or cannot enforce in the courts, or judicial tribunals of the State or locality where they may be, any of the rights secured to them by the first section. The construction which I have given to the second section is strengthened by this third section; for it makes clear what kind of denial or deprivation of rights secured by the first section was in contemplation. It is a denial or deprivation of such rights in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State. It stands, therefore, clear of doubt that the offence and penalties provided in the second section are intended for the State judge, who, in the clear exercises of his functions as a judge, not acting ministerially, but judicially, shall decide contrary to this Federal law.

In other words, when a State judge, acting upon a question involving a conflict between a State law and Federal law, and bound, according to his own judgment and responsibility, to give an impartial decision between the two, comes to the conclusion that the State law is valid, and the Federal law is invalid, he must not follow the dictates of his own judgment, at the peril of fine and imprisonment. The legislative department of the Government of the United States thus takes from the judicial department of the States the sacred and exclusive duty of judicial decision, and converts the State judge into a mere ministerial officer, bound to decide according to the will of Congress. It is clear that in States which deny to persons whose rights are secured by the first section of the bill any of those rights, all civil and criminal cases affecting them will, by the provisions of the third section, come under the executive cognizance of the Federal tribunals.

It follows that if, in any State which denies to a colored person any one of all those rights, that person should commit a crime against the laws of the State—murder, arson, rape, or any other crime—all prosecution and punishment through the courts of the State are taken away, and he can only be tried and punished in the Federal courts. How is the criminal to be tried if the offence is provided for and punished by Federal law? That law, and not the State law, is to govern. It is only when the offence does not happen to be within the purview of Federal law that the Federal courts are to try and punish him under any other law. Then resort is to be had to the common law, as modified and changed by State legislation, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States. So that over this vast domain of criminal jurisprudence, provided by each State for the protection of its own citizens and for the punishment of all persons who violate its criminal laws, Federal law, wherever it can be made to apply, displaces State law.

The question here naturally arises from what source Congress derives its powers to transfer to Federal tribunals certain classes of cases embraced in this section. The Constitution expressly declares that the judicial power of the United States "shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting embassadors or other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between citizens of the different States; between citizens of the same State, claiming land under grants of different States; between a State and citizens of another or different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens or subjects."

Here the judicial power of the United States is expressly set forth and defined; and the act of September 24, 1789, establishing the Judicial Courts of the United States, in conferring upon the Federal Courts jurisdiction over cases originating in State tribunals, is careful to confine them to the classes enumerated in the above recited clause of the Constitution. This section of the bill undoubtedly comprehends cases and authorizes the exercise of powers that are not, by the Constitution, within the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States. To transfer them to these courts would be an exercise of authority well calculated to excite distrust and alarm on the part of all the States, for the bill applies alike to all of them, as well to those that have, as to those that have not been engaged in rebellion.

It may be assumed that this authority is incident to the power granted to Congress by the Constitution, as recently amended, to enforce, by appropriate legislation the article declaring that neither slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. It cannot, however, be justly claimed that with a view to the enforcement of this article of the Constitution, there is at present any necessity for the exercises of all the powers which this bill confers. Slavery has been abolished, and at present nowhere exists, within the jurisdiction of the United States, nor has there been, nor is it likely there will be, any attempts to revive it by the people of any State. If, however, any such attempt shall be made, it will then become the duty of the General Government to exercise any and all incidental powers necessary and proper to maintain inviolate this great law of freedom.

The fourth section of the bill provides that officers and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau shall be empowered to make arrests, and also that other officers may be specially commissioned for that purpose by the President of the United States. It also authorizes Circuit Courts of the United States and the Superior Courts of the Territories to appoint, without limitation, commissioners who are to be charged with the performance of *quasi* judicial duties. The fifth section empowers the commissioners so to be selected by the Court to appoint in writing one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute warrants and other processes desirable by the bill. These numerous official agents are made to constitute a sort of police, in addition to the military, and are authorized to summon a *posse comitatus*, and even to call to their aid such portion of the land and naval forces of the United States, or the militia, "as may be necessary to the performance of the duty with which they are charged."

This extraordinary power is to be conferred upon agents irresponsible to the Government and to the people, to whose number the discretion of the Commissioners is the only limit, and in whose hands such authority might be made a terrible engine of wrong, oppression and fraud. The general statutes regulating the land and naval forces of the United States, the militia and the execution of the laws, are believed to be adequate for any emergency which can occur in time of peace. If it should prove otherwise, Congress can at any time amend those laws in such manner as, while subserving the public welfare, not to jeopardise the rights, interests and liberties of the people.

The seventh section provides that a fee of ten dollars shall be paid to each Commissioner in every case brought before him, and a fee of five dollars to his deputy or deputies for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such Commissioner, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such Commissioner in general for performing such other duties as may be required in the premises. All these fees are to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States, whether there is a conviction or not; but in case of conviction they are to be recoverable from the defendant. It seems to me that under the influence of such temptations bad men might convert any law, however beneficent, into an instrument of persecution and fraud. By the eighth section of the bill the United States Courts, which sit only in one place for white citizens, must migrate with the Marshal and District Attorney, and necessarily with the clerk (although he is not mentioned) to any part of the District upon the order of the President, and there hold a Court for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this act, and there the Judge and officers of the Court must remain upon the order of the President for the time therein designated.

The ninth section authorizes the President, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this act. This language seems to imply a permanent military force that is to be always at hand, and whose only business is to be the enforcement of the measure over the vast region where it is intended to operate.

I do not propose to consider the policy of this bill. To me the details of the bill are fraught with evil. The white race and black race of the South have hitherto lived together under the relation of master and slave—capital owning labor. Now that relation is changed, and as to ownership capital and labor are divorced. They stand now, each master of itself. In this new relation, one being necessary to the other, there will be a new adjustment, which both are deeply interested in making harmonious. Each has equal power in settling the terms, and, if left to the laws that regulate capital and labor, it is confidently believed that they will satisfactorily work out the problem. Capital, it is true, has more intelligence; but labor is never so ignorant as not to understand its own interests, not to know its own value, and not to see that capital must pay that value. This bill frustrates this adjustment. It intervenes between capital and labor, and attempts to settle questions of political economy through the agency of numerous officials, whose interest it will be to foment discord between the two races; for as the breach widens their employment will continue, and when it is closed their occupation will terminate.

In all our history, in all our experience as a people living under Federal and State laws, no such system as that contemplated by the detail of this bill has ever been proposed or adopted. They establish for the security of the colored race safeguards which go infinitely beyond any that the General Government has ever provided for the white race. In fact, the distinction of race and color is by the bill made to operate in favor of the colored and against the white race. They interfere with the municipal legislation of the States; with relations existing exclusively between a State and its citizens, or between inhabitants of the same State—an absorption and assumption of power by the General Government which, if acquiesced in, must sap and destroy our federative system of limited powers, and break down the barriers which preserve the rights of the States. It is another step, or rather stride, toward centralization, and the concentration of all legislative powers in the National Government. The tendency of the bill must be to resuscitate the spirit of rebellion, and to arrest the progress of those influences which are more closely drawing around the States the bonds of union and peace.

My lamented predecessor, in his proclamation of the first of January, 1863, ordered and declared that all persons held as slaves within certain States and parts of States, therein designated, were and thenceforth should be free; and further, that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, would recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons. The guarantee has been rendered especially obligatory and sacred by the amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the United States. I therefore fully recognize the obligation to protect and defend that class of our people whenever and wherever it shall become necessary, and to the full extent compatible with the Constitution of the United States.

Entertaining these sentiments, it only remains for me to say that I will cheerfully co-operate with Congress in any measure that may be necessary for the preservation of the civil rights of the freedmen, as well as those of all other classes of persons throughout the United States, by judicial process, under equal and impartial laws, or conformably with the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

I now return the bill to the Senate, and regret that in considering the bills and joint resolutions, forty-two in number, which have been thus far submitted for my approval, I am compelled to withhold my assent from a second measure that has received the sanction of both Houses of Congress.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Washington, March 27, 1866.

A "NEW SHORTER CATECHISM."

[The New York *Herald* has composed a Primer. The American Tract Society used to expurgate passages from its cheap literature which might injure its own reputation at the South, or the sale of its books. Pierpont, Longfellow, Gurney, Mary Lundy, Duncan, and others, were piously pruned of all Anti-Slavery excrescence before they were sent to the Sunday School Libraries of the rising chivalry. But the immaculacy of the *Herald's* catechism exempts it from any such necessity, as the Tract Society and all others can see, as given below:]

Is his a white man's government for white men? The Civil Rights bill says that it is not.

SHALL the farms of the great West and the whole country be owned by negroes, and white labor be made subservient to negro proprietorship? The Civil Rights bill provides for this condition of things.

Is a negro five times better than a white man that the former should vote immediately, while the latter has to undergo five years' probation if he brings his skill, labor and money to this country from abroad? The Civil Rights bill declares that the negro is five times better.

ARE we to have negroes filling the position of post captains in the United States Navy? The Civil Rights bill says that we are.

SHALL a negro supercede Grant as General-in-Chief of the United States Army? The Civil Rights bill says that he can do so.

ARE we to have negroes representing this government as United States ministers at the Courts of France and England? The Civil Rights bill says that we are.

SHALL negroes sit in Congress, in the Cabinet and other high stations side by side with white men? The Civil Rights bill says that he may.

SHALL our children see a negro in the Presidential chair? The Civil Rights bill provides for such a contingency.

SHALL negroes intermingle with our refined ladies in steaming hot theatres, ball rooms and opera houses? The Civil Rights bill declares that they must.

SHALL the negro intermarry with our daughters, and take an equal place in our household? The Civil Rights bill says that he shall.

[On the same page with the catechism is the following luminous commentary, simplifying the whole down to the humblest capacity:]

Immigration from foreign countries is officially announced to be larger at this time than at any former period. Most of these immigrants come from the rural districts of Germany, France and Great Britain; are composed of an agricultural and manufacturing class of people, and their destination is principally the Southern States. These people are industrious, frugal and intelligent. They will take the place of the negroes in the hard work of many of the plantations, and aid the Northeners and native born Southerners in their efforts to resuscitate the South. How unjust it will be to these intelligent pioneers in a new system of Southern labor to place them beneath the ignorant field negroes, who cannot read a word or write a syllable, in political privileges. These white men must be here five years before they can vote. The radicals would have the negroes vote before they can spell the word "freedom," or know what it means before or after they learn how to spell it. The white immigrant comes here expecting to be the equal of the white citizen; but he finds himself actually beneath the negro in the political and social scale. Is this the way to encourage immigration? Is this the way to develop the resources of the country? Is this the way Congress legislated when the men who now represent most of the Western States in both houses were elected by the votes of hardy and intelligent foreign immigrants and their descendants? The great people of the Great West, we believe, will rebuke those of their representatives in Congress who aim at placing the Southern negro, just born into a state of liberty, in a scale of equality above the intelligent and industrious white immigrant.

Selections.

THE FREEDMEN IN KENTUCKY.

[The following, coming from Kentucky, is addressed to Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard, Commissioner of Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, War Department, Washington, District Columbia.]

[OFFICIAL.]

GENERAL: In compliance with instructions received from the Department, directing me to proceed to the city of Lexington, Ky., to examine into the condition of the freedmen in that part of the State, I have the honor to report that I visited Lexington and vicinity, and prosecuted my investigation for the period of about one month, adopting the following method. In all cases of extreme cruelty to the freedmen, I have relied upon the best and most reliable evidence I could procure, taken under oath. In regard to minor acts of cruelty, either to persons or property, and in reference to the economical, social and moral condition of the race, I have been controlled by personal observation, aided by information received from intelligent and trustworthy sources.

From the depositions taken by me and herewith transmitted, I have compiled the facts in the more extreme cases of cruelty and outrage for reference, and make the same a part and parcel of my report.

An examination of the sworn evidence, or the abstracts made therefrom, reveal to you sixty cases of outrage, in a limited district and period, unparalleled in their atrocity and fiendishness—cruelties for which, in no instance, as devolved by the testimony, is the least shadow of excuse or palliation.

You will observe I have been able in most instances to give you the *names of the injured*; in many, the names of the offenders, with dates and localities.

I have classified these outrages as follows:

Twenty-three cases of most severe and inhuman beating and whipping of men, four of beating and shooting, two of robbing and shooting, three of robbing, five men shot and killed, two shot and wounded, four beaten to death, one beaten and roasted, three women assaulted and ravished, four women beaten, two women tied up and whipped until insensible, two men and three families beaten and driven from their homes and their property destroyed, two instances of burning of dwellings and one of the inmates shot. Of these victims twelve men were Union soldiers and three women the wives of Union soldiers.

And yet I regret to say that these cases constitute but a portion of the catalogue of cruelties. I heard of quite a number of additional cases, but did not succeed in obtaining the proof, for want of time and proper facilities. White men, however friendly to the freedmen, disliked to make depositions in these cases, for fear of personal violence. The same reason influences the black; he is fearful, timid and trembling.

He knows that since he has been a freedman he has not up to this time had the protection of either the Federal or State authorities; that there is no way to enforce his rights or redress his wrongs. The civil authorities will give him no relief, and this department, up to this writing, has been powerless.

Of the offences reported, there has been but one arrest by the civil authorities, and that was a case of murder, the murderer released on light bail, and now at large, no effort having been made to bring him to trial.

The arm of the civil law has, however, been brought in requisition quite recently to release and protect offenders.

On the night of the 16th of February, 1866, a gang of white men, residents of Bath county, entered the house of Jos. Balls, a person who has been a freedman for a number of years—humble and inoffensive and much respected—the owner of forty acres of land—and beat and most horribly mangled him; his body was burst open, his intestines protruding.

He lingered two days in agony and died. At the same time they set upon another old colored man, named Thacket, who was at the house of Balls, beating him for some time, putting out an eye, and then very deliberately placed him over the fire, roasting him first upon one side and then upon the other. Upon the same night, and as is presumed, by a portion of the same gang, an attack was made on the house of Pate Burns, about four miles from the residence of Balls. Burns was a most exemplary man and a preacher of the Gospel, and they robbed him of his bacon, money and clothing, shot him in the head, severely wounding him, and there in his presence ravished his wife. Two other colored persons, who were in the house of Burns, at this time, were severely beaten, and one of them shot in the head. Two of the offenders were arrested by the Agent of the Freedmen's Bureau of Bath county, and while removing them for safe keeping to a military camp, a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by Judge Hepperson, of Montgomery county, and the men discharged and set at liberty, he holding that the Freedmen's Bureau has no legal existence in Kentucky, and that the writ of *habeas corpus* is not suspended in this State.

These views are sought to be impressed upon the people by leading men, and are the source of much difficulty.

The fact should be impressed upon the minds of the people, not only that the Bureau has a legal existence in Kentucky, but that it has also a real one.

It does me pleasure to report that the freedmen exhibit an earnest desire for education.

One of the most humane and excellent gentlemen of Lexington, long a resident of Kentucky, told me he was astonished to see such an intense desire for information, and that he thought the freed children were learning faster than the whites of the same age. Persons at the age of fifty are learning to read and write.

In Lexington they are well provided with schools, but sadly deficient in country places.

In some of the counties there are organized bands of men called "rangers," "moderators," "nigger killers," who have driven the freedmen entirely out of certain sections, and begin, at last, to threaten and intimidate Union white men. In the city of Lexington the freedmen receive fair wages, and this is the case, I think, in some other sections; but there are counties and portions of counties, where they are forced or intimidated to work as low as six or seven dollars a month, and other counties induced to work without a stipulated price. In Jessimine county alone, are contracts to any extent brought under the supervision of the agents of the Bureau, and there its beneficial effects are beginning to be felt by all interested.

Until this system is fairly carried out, there will continue to be a great amount of oppression and injustice.

A thorough organization of this Department in the Lexington Sub-District of Kentucky is also necessary in many parts, to protect those truly loyal and humane citizens who would gladly do much to aid the freedman in his present trying situation, but are now intimidated by local prejudices or the fear of personal injury.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) P. BONESTED,
Special Inspector for Kentucky and Tennessee.
Lexington, March 5th, 1866.

A true copy. H. S. BROWN,
Capt. and Asst. Adj.-Gen.

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY.

[The Roxbury (Mass.) *Journal* speaks in the following plain terms of the President and his party].

EVENTS are rapidly hastening to that crisis which shall formally separate Andrew Johnson from the Republican party of this nation. We have had no hope of any other issue since the time of the 22d of February speech. It has been evident to our mind that all attempts to conciliate the man who could fulminate such utterances as were those of the President at that time would prove futile. We have looked upon them as worse than useless—as a blunder. We have seriously feared that they would give an advantage to Mr. Johnson which he never ought to hold. Our own idea has been that any toleration of such a man is demoralizing; that a willingness to continue under his leadership implies a lowering of tone in the Republican organization which must be mischievous in its effects, and elevates Mr. Johnson to a moral respectability vastly beyond that to which, on his merits, he is entitled. If there had been a reasonable prospect of success, the effort might have been perhaps worth making, for we do not shut our eyes to the unhappy results of the President's contumacy. But there never was a shadow of hope in this direction. The deceptive mask behind which the President had for months concealed his real feelings was finally cast aside on that memorable 22d. To mistake him, after that, was inexcusable. * * * * He can deceive no one any longer. To be just to him, he hardly tries to do it. He would like the support of the Republican party, but he cares much more for the gratification of his personal animosities, and the triumph of projects on the success of which he has willfully determined. He was for both parties in Connecticut, till the Hartford Postmaster artfully made the issue one of supporting or opposing his policy. Then he took fire in an instant, and became a flaming Democrat outright. This is his position, as we have endeavored in other articles to show. He is with the Republican party, if its voters will abandon their principles for its own; otherwise, he is against them. He has forgotten all about loyalty or disloyalty as those terms used to be accepted in distinguishing our people. In place of these he has established a new test—the support of his policy. Jeff. Davis, if he agrees to this, is a more loyal man in the President's eyes, than Pitt Fessenden if he opposes it. This is not extravagance of statement—it is the naked truth. The burning zeal which impelled Mr. Johnson to fulminate against rebels when he was first inaugurated has not spent itself. It still exists, but it finds another object. It was then, as now, more personal hate than patriotism. The difference is that, while then he personally hated rebels, he now personally hates loyal men. This zeal is providentially zeal without discretion. In his narrow-minded willfulness, his insane hate and rage, Mr. Johnson is bringing distress and shame upon the nation. But he is a much less dangerous man than he would be if there were more of repression and astute policy in his method of carrying out his vindictiveness. He is daily more and more disgusting the nation, and lessening the immense power for mischief that he might exert. He is teaching the lesson that association with him is contamination, and repelling the alliance of self-respecting statesmen. The Johnson party will prove as feeble as the Tyler faction. It has less elements of attraction, and, if the fatuity of its head continues, will have less capacity for harm. The nation, which has come safely through such desperate straits, will yet triumph over this latest calamity of administration, and the people will, in good time, find relief from the incubus that now weighs upon their patriotic efforts towards regenerating the land.

HOW CONGRESS "STANDS."—A Washington Correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* writes his impressions of Congress thus:

It is capable of demonstration that instead of progress there has been unmistakable retrogression on the part of the majority in both Houses since the opening of the session in regard to the political advancement of the colored race. Without fear of contradiction, I assert that the determination of the Radical members to secure to the emancipated blacks, if not a full, at least a partial measure of political rights by congressional action, was much more decided in December than at the present time. And, more than this, a disposition to abstain entirely during the remainder of the session from any attempts to enforce the recognition of their rights in the several States, by direct or indirect legislation, has been of late becoming more and more manifest. This disinclination, or rather hesitation, to follow the exact line of policy prescribed by humanity and justice, arises not from an absolute surrender of former convictions, but from mistaken impressions that considerations of expediency forbid action in strict accordance with them. A belief has been steadily growing in the minds of members, that it would not do to go before the people with the question of political rights for the negroes, and that if the immediate or gradual elevation of the freed people to political equality were made a prominent issue in the elections during the coming Summer and Fall, the Republican party would be beaten, and lose predominance in the national council. This apprehension and the desire to avoid so calamitous a contingency, has done more to regulate the tone and character of political legislation during the last two weeks than a just regard for the claims of the freedmen to congressional interference in behalf of their undeniable rights. * *

"Indeed, the solicitude of the majority is now more to fix up issues for the contest of parties in the States holding elections in the course of this year, in a form promising success, than to follow, regardless of temporary consequences, the straight road of faithfulness to principle."

GOV. BROWNLOW ON THE PRESIDENT AND HIS POLICY.

[Gov. Brownlow being at his home in Knoxville in feeble health, was invited to address the German Union League in that city, and did so to the following purpose:

HE prefaced his remarks by asking their indulgence, as he was weak, but promised them to be brief and to the point. He said that parties were again at work, seeking an ascendancy in the Government. The Democratic party, under a new guise and new leaders, was again asking countenance from the people. The firing on Sumter was a Democratic measure. The Southern States were all Democratic when they went into the rebellion. The revenue stamps you are now taxed with are Democratic, and so are shinplasters.

I announce to you that if Andy Johnson is to lead the way in reconstruction, with the Democratic party at his back, I go the other way. I go with the Congress of the United States, the so-called Radicals. I do not fear to side with them. The name of Radical has no terrors for me. I have been known as a "damned blue-light Whig" and "damned lunatic," and I think it cheap if they will now let me off by calling me a "damned Radical."

There are "two human monsters" now engaging the attention of the American people. Their names are on every man's lips. I refer to Sumner and Stevens. President Johnson is engaged in a bitter warfare against them. To abuse these men is the test of the loyalty Mr. Johnson prescribes. They are both men of ability and unblemished private character. Stevens has sacrificed more for the Union than any five men in East Tennessee, and is a better man than any two men who ever lived in the South. I am not afraid to indorse these men on my own "dung hill." We must all be Radicals or reconstructed Democrats. I prefer to side with the former class.

On the negro suffrage question I have only to say that, for the present, I am willing to be content with the freedom of the slaves, and with the privilege given them to testify in the courts. I differ from President Johnson on this subject. He says he is in favor of allowing negroes to vote who can read, who are worth $250, who have been in the army; and of gradually extending the right of suffrage to all. It was through his influence that we succeeded in passing the Negro Testimony bill through our Tennessee Legislature. He wrote letters, and sent telegrams asking members to support the bill. It was through his help the bill became a law. He went further than I ever did. I want them to be qualified first; it will come in time. They voted in Tennessee prior to 1832.

I have some secrets to tell of the Freedman's Bureau bill. I think the bill was objectionable, and it might have been proper for me to veto it, but President Johnson ought not to have done it. Gens. Howard and Fiske drew up that bill. They carried it to the President and read it to him, section by section. He favored it. Gen. Fiske thought the expense would be too great, but the President said "no." He urged it and promised to sign it if Congress should pass it. It went through both Houses. In the meantime he got into a personal quarrel with Sumner and others, and when the bill came before him for his signature he vetoed it after having promised to favor it. This is a secret, but true.

I am in favor of the test oath, and don't want it repealed, and it won't be, thank God. There are crippled rebels in Washington who want to govern this country, and I am opposed to letting them in. They won't help govern the country. President Johnson can't carry a single State north of Mason's line but Kentucky, and I wish he would carry that State to "hell."

They had forty papers in Tennessee, and but seven of them are loyal. The thirty-three are bitter, artful, rebel sheets, many of them edited by Northern Copperheads—the meanest class of men that walk on earth. They are meaner than Judas Iscariot. Arnold and Burr were patriots compared to them.

Our State Legislature is at a lock—twenty-one members bolted. They all indorse President Johnson. They have left 200 lunatics and 300 convicts to starve. I have provided money to feed them; if the next Legislature refuses to refund the money, I will turn the crazy and the convicted loose on Middle Tennessee. It will be the best physic they ever had.

The Governor closed by warning all his old friends to stand by the Government. He predicted that the South would attempt another revolution through the ballot-box. If they did, he said, the Northern hordes would grind them to powder.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—A Correspondent of the New York *Tribune* has a long letter dated Charleston, March 22d, of which the following is at least a "specimen brick."

"St. Patrick's Day was observed here in true Secession style. South Carolinians toasted South Carolina and Charleston in the old, inflated, gasconading manner. Hibernians flattered Carolinians, and Carolinians adulated Hibernians. Carolinians wished they were Irishmen, and Irishmen would have been proud to be Carolinians—no doubt like the Celt in the anecdote, they could have been born in Charleston as well as Cork if they had so desired—until the spirit of wine and of mutual admiration blended, and the Palmetto and Shamrock embraced in mandlin sentiment and drunken conceit.

"The memory of Preston S. Brooks was drank in silent reverence, and Jefferson Davis was alluded to as 'the brave soldier, the learned statesman, the patriot martyr, and the suffering saint.' It was a rare and delightful occasion when treason obtained a furlough to play the fool.

"THE 'CHIVALRY' STILL TALKING.

"The daily press here—represented by the *Courier*, *News*, and *South Carolinian*, are, just now, loud in their praise of President Johnson, because they believe him in opposition to the North, and regale their leaders with a poorly disguised article of disloyalty for diurnal pabulum.

"Many of the Northern men here—to their shame be it said—are repeating the mortifying sycophancy of the past by pandering to the treasonable feelings of the South Carolinians for the purpose of obtaining their patronage. They sell their principles with their goods; the latter are dear and the former cheap."

PRESIDENTIAL PATRONAGE.—Whatever may be thought of the general wisdom or policy of the President's veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, there can be no doubt that one point of it was very suggestive, and that was his opposition to the further increase of Presidential patronage. Already that patronage is immense and alarming.

The perils of the increase of Executive patronage produced by the vast number of new offices created within a few years are now painfully evident. There is at this very time an adulation of the President which is unprecedented and humiliating, and an eager and obsequious anxiety for his favor which the high Tory party of any monarchical country would disdain to feel or to display. Candidates for State offices hurry to Washington to ascertain whether they are welcome at the White House. Officeholders think it necessary to offer to resign if they pursue a course which they fear the President may not approve. Party Conventions nervously speak him fair. Great questions of national policy are discussed not upon their merits but upon the probabilities of the Presidential smile. The newspapers wrangle fiercely whether the result of elections condemns or favors his supposed views.

The central question of politics is not is it just, is it right, is it true policy, but—does it please the President? It is a state of affairs utterly unworthy an honorable people. It is a most alarming sign under a free Constitutional Government.—*Harper's Weekly*.

MORE JAMAICA HORRORS.

From the London Star, of March 17.

THE copious reports which we have received by the West India mail are filled with details so shocking that it is impossible by any mere summary of the evidence to give a sufficiently adequate idea of the cruelties which were perpetrated during the reign of terror. We think, however, that we shall be able to show by a few statements gleaned from the published documents that nothing we have said, nothing that our correspondent has written, nothing that the Jamaica Committee has put forth, is open to the charge of exaggeration or overcoloring. First, with regard to the flogging of women. Robert Jacobs, who lives at Bath, and is a private in a volunteer company, was present when the Maroons brought in a number of men and women. "The cat used for males had wire, but that for the women was made of cord—the most a woman got was twelve lashes." The inference is that in the judgment of the people of whom Jacobs is a type, the flogging of women is perfectly lawful, provided that it be done with a cat made of ordinary materials, and that not more than a dozen lashes are inflicted. If these ruffians possessed a single spark of decency—the common feelings of men—they would understand that the composition of the weapon of torture, or the exact amount of suffering which it was calculated to produce, was the least important part of the question. Mary Williams, a single woman, laboring on the Holland estate, received twenty-five lashes with a wire cat. The torturer was one of those Maroons whose loyalty and bravery are held up to our admiration. After she had been confined for three weeks at Morant Bay, she was tried before Mr. Ewart, by whose order she was liberated. "She said I did not deserve punishment." When she got back she found her house burnt. Joseph Marsh, of Bath, who volunteered the opinion that the manner in which Mr. Kirkland tried the prisoners "did him honor," and was very properly told by Sir Henry Storks to keep his opinion to himself, said that men and women were flogged. "I saw among them *some* of those who had plundered the stores. They got about fifty lashes; the cats were made of wire wrapped closely in the cords. The regimental cats were used for the women. . . . The wire was wound round the cords or it would not have made such dreadful cuts." John Collins, a mason, was at Morant Bay on the 10th of October. He saw a woman receive fifty lashes. "The woman was flogged on the back with a large cat. She got twenty-five with the large cat, and the other twenty-five with a small wire in it. I saw lots of women flogged at Leith Hall." Mr. W. P. Kirkland, a magistrate of Bath, deposed that he only tried persons who were found with plundered property in their possession. His testimony, which no one will venture to impeach, is most instructive:—"I sentenced," he said, "the women from ten to twenty-five, and the men to not more than fifty lashes. I employed an old soldier of the 2d West India Regiment to make cats. They were made with twine at first, and afterwards with thin pieces of wire; but it was not done by my order. . . . After the women were flogged, they were worked on the road and fed with ground provisions and fish." James Stewart, "a small settler," residing at Thornton, not only saw the Maroons shoot three old men in their houses and two women, but was a witness to the flogging of several women with wire cats "until Mr. Stewart brought a bundle of English cats there." Lydia Bruce, the wife of a bandmaster of volunteers, who was employed by Mr. Kirkland to flog prisoners at Bath, said that "the women were flogged with cats made of twine." "I could not stand it," she remarked, "the cruelty was so great that even my husband had to take stimulants administered to him." Elizabeth Collins, of Long Bay, and her daughter-in-law, were both tied to a tree and catted after martial law had ceased.

Not less conclusive and overwhelming are the proofs of the utter demoralization of the soldiery, of the impunity with which they burnt villages, broke into houses, and plundered the inmates of their worldly goods. George Murray, a small freeholder, residing at Manchioneal, was visited by a party of these desperadoes, who carried off his small stock of valuables in a bundle which they hid in the bush, and afterwards burnt his house down. Sophia Davis, living at Font-hill, is the mother of nine children. The soldiers paid her a visit. She said to their leader, "Massa, do I beg you not burn my house with my nine children." His reply was, "Come out; we will put fire to the house." And burn it they did. "Plenty of houses were burnt at Font-hill. More were burned than were left standing." Grace Sherrington, of Font-hill, who had entertained one of the soldiers on his march, had her husband shot while he was lying down. The bullets lodged in the floor and were examined by the commissioners. "The soldiers took five shillings. They took away all our clothes, and the child's clothes, and my husband's clothes, rings, glasses, knives and forks." Sarah Ann Robinson, another witness, "entered into a long account of certain alleged atrocities of the soldiers, and mentioned among other things that a woman in the pangs of child-bearing, was shot, as also 'the grandy' who attended her." Mr. John Sawyer, the proprietor of Manchester, who accompanied the troops under Col. Hobbs, saw eleven persons shot at Chigoe Fort Market. "Col. Hobbs," he says, "got them in a row and the constables swore that they caught them in open rebellion; the Colonel made the constables hold up their right hands and swear before God and their allegiance to Queen Victoria and the constitution of Jamaica, that they saw them." Scarcely less summary and monstrous was the manner in which the proceedings of the courts-martial were conducted at Morant Bay. Mr. Bicknell, a police magistrate of Kingston, was present at many of these trials. "I was struck," he says, "with the summary manner in which the business was disposed of. I don't remember that the prisoners were allowed to send for witnesses. The charges were read to them. I don't remember that they were asked to plead guilty or not guilty." Sergeant John Burnett, the police officer on whose information warrants were issued for the apprehension of the persons that obstructed the police at Stoney Gut, and who escaped from the Court-house on the day of the massacre, fared very little better than the actual rioters. He was taken into custody by the soldiers, beaten about the face, stamped upon and kicked, until a black soldier named Greene interfered on his behalf, when he escaped into the bush. There is still further evidence concerning the putting up of men as targets. Robert Sherrington, a laborer living at Font-hill, was an eye witness of the execution of Wellington and M'Laren, one of whom was placed at the door of a house and the other on a hill side, at a distance of several hundred yards. Two men fired at a time, and the witness counted thirty-five shots before any took effect on Wellington. This wretched man's head was subsequently cut off and exhibited on a pole. This occurred on the 30th October, and a week later Sherrington saw fifteen other persons shot amid circumstances equally revolting in their barbarity. The evidence against Ramsay is as horrible and odious as can be conceived. This is a mild case:—Joseph Hall is arrested in his house at Font-hill, and with three others was removed to Morant Bay. He was taken before the Provost Marshal and sent to prison. He states that he was confined for eighteen days. When executions took place he was ordered out to witness them. The first evening he was there he saw twenty-five persons hanged. On Sundays he was employed in burying the dead. At last his own turn came. Without trial and simply on Mr. Ramsay's order, he received seventy-five lashes. "They said the place I was found in bore a bad character. Mr. Ramsay said that that was all the charge against me." He knew Scipio Corvell, who, after having been twice flogged and twice discharged, was handed over for execution. Ramsay was so much in love with his work that he occasionally took a turn with the cat himself. Mr. Kirkland, the magistrate, describes a flying visit which that functionary paid to his district, and remarks, "Mr. Ramsay flogged several of the prisoners himself," and when questioned as to the number, he answered, "About fifteen." Sarah Ann Robinson of Morant Bay deposed that her husband and son, while working in their grounds, were taken to Morant Bay, and after they had been confined in the workhouse for a fortnight, "Mr. Ramsay took them to the parade and hanged them without any law or any examination."

As for the conduct of officers wearing the British uniform, if the treatment which the Rev. Edwin Palmer received on board the Aboukir is a sample, the sooner some of these gentlemen are relieved of their commissions the better it will be for the honor of the service. His hands were tied; he was put in irons; and when he had an attack of fever he was told that "a few inches of rope would be the best medicine he could have." On his arrival at Morant Bay he, too, was always taken out to see the executions and people flogged. Alexander Phillips, of Vere, was arrested by a volunteer. No charge was preferred against him. He was not tried by court-martial; and although he was in a deplorable state of health, he received a hundred lashes. "After I was flogged the officer told me to kneel before him. I did so. He said, 'Say God bless the Queen.' I did so. He said, 'Say damn any black man.' I did so. He said, 'Take up your pass and your clothes, and go and thank the Queen.'"

We must leave for future consideration the important evidence given by the Attorney-General, who was never consulted as to the arrests; that of the Hon. Alan Ker, who gave important testimony as to the need of a stipendiary magistracy and the general absence of a just administration of the law; and that of Mr. Jackson, the late stipendiary justice of St. Thomas, who, in addition to many other facts, narrated the case of a brother magistrate, who, after flogging a woman with a supplejack one day, tried a man for assault the next, and said that he could not "conscientiously" impose a less fine for the offence than twenty shillings.

GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE AND THE RADICAL NEWSPAPERS.—A dispatch to the Chicago *Times* states that an order received at St. Louis takes away War Department advertising from all papers in the city that have been abusing the President. Some papers denounced Lincoln because he was not radical enough for them, and Stanton rewarded them for it by giving them all the advertising and printing patronage in his power. The papers to whom the order applies, are the Missouri *Democrat*, *Evening News*, Westliche *Post and Neuszeit*.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1866.

AN OFFER
TO
STUDENTS IN ORATORY.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECHES AND LECTURES.

A HANDSOMELY bound volume of the Speeches and Lectures of WENDELL PHILLIPS will be presented to any person who will send us three *new* subscribers, with nine dollars—the usual subscription price.

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ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the City of NEW YORK, at the Church of the Puritans, on Union Square, on TUESDAY, May 8th, at 10 o'clock. In the evening, there will be another public meeting at 7½ o'clock. The names of speakers for these meetings will be duly announced.

On Wednesday morning at ten o'clock, the Society and its friends will hold a session for business, in the lecture room of the same church.

The rights of the Negro are to day in more fearful peril than at any period since the first fire on Sumter. We appeal to the friends of freedom to come together and see what may be and should be done to strengthen the hands and hearts of those who are fighting his battle.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Pres.

C. K. WHIPPLE, }
A. M. POWELL, } Secretaries.

WHO ARE THE "HYPOCRITES?"

WHETHER we have political hypocrites, is not the inquiry here. That we have plenty who call each other so, none will deny. We do not call men hypocrites, or serpents; or "copperheads." To us, men are men; bad enough at best: but not serpents, at their worst. And we do not so term them. But we hear Republicans branding Democrats as hypocrites; sometimes with profane adjectives prefixed. And it has long been a part of the Democratic religion to brand Republicans and everybody else not of their fellowship, as not only hypocrites, but everything else, vile and opprobrious. For reasons of their own, both parties are just now loudly denouncing each other as false and hypocritical in their pretended support of the President and his policy. To examine the quality of that support, is the present design. That there are good practical reasons for it, may appear in the progress of the argument.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has always been presumed to incline towards the conservatives, in all party evolution, or revolution; though it has always intended to hold an even scale as related to politics and religious sects; interfering with the sentiments of none, any farther than those sentiments affected the great interests of freedom and humanity—the cause of the slave. That Mr. Garrison was a Whig before he was an Abolitionist avowedly, may have been true. But he certainly was a very juvenile Whig. That he was an admirer of John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster, was a very youthful indiscretion, if indiscretion it were. That he bestowed on the latter gentleman the appellation of "*the godlike*," is an admitted fact; though the then powerful Whig party soon proudly recognized the new baptism, and ever afterwards knew their champion by his new name, regarding it as above every name.

The Democratic party always claimed purity and perfection from all anti-slavery taint, or stain. One premature shriek it uttered against the annexation of Texas. But the moment slavery made its will known, the party was silent upon it ever more. The few members who resisted the demand, were cast into utter negro darkness; the only purgatory or perdition dreaded by Democratic saints. The Abolitionists saw the purpose of the slaveholders in seeking Southern Territory, and naturally exposed and resisted it. Whether there were any virtue in the Whigs, in opposing the measure, Abolitionists did not ask. The profession was good and was approved. Some Democrats, disgusted at the servility of their party, left it and united with the Whigs. Others went further and joined the Liberty, or Free Soil party. And a few, more wisely directed, came to the Abolitionists.

In time, in good time, doubtless, the Whig party died and was gathered unto its fathers the Federalists. Out of its sepulchre emerged the dispensation of Republicanism; a regenerated, purified spirit, it was hoped, from the decay of the departed, by the power of a new resurrection. When in 1856 Gen. Fremont was nominated by this new creation, in opposition to a relic of the saurian period, discovered by the Democrats somewhere in the red sandstone of Pennsylvania, the Abolitionists again favored most the former, both because he was human and living, and because his party based itself on at least a stern opposition to the farther extension of slavery. Few of them, however, voted for "Fremont and Jessy," because under the Constitution as then interpreted, the government was still held to the protection of slavery in the States, and to the execution of the diabolical Fugitive Slave law then in full force and operation.

So also in the beginning of the war, the sympathy of the Abolitionists flowed naturally in the direction of the government and Union, because, if for no other reason, the war was waged by slavery, for the interests of slavery; and with a desperation that to achieve its object, was ready to dash the nation in pieces, and consume it with fire and sword. But here again the Abolitionists were true to themselves. They had only asked the political parties to make their distinctive doctrines subserve the ends of justice and freedom. When the war began, they desired and demanded, that it be made to accomplish the mightiest design of a thousand years, the utter extermination forever and ever of the accursed institution. It mattered nothing to them what party was in power, who was President, or who commanded the army. The "war power" had untethered every hand from any pretended constitutional obligation. Stern "*military necessity*," too, appealed, and so interest and duty, justice and the national salvation, all pointed in the same direction. But the Democrats with most mysterious unanimity, have maintained their fidelity to the South, to slavery, and to unconquerable hate to the negro race, unshaken and inviolable.

This brief statement unfolds the reason why the Abolitionists have been supposed to lean to the conservative side, in all the party mutations of the last thirty years. Nor have they been unwilling to be thus regarded, so long as that side bore any tendency towards the right direction. But it has now become a question of serious import, whether even that seeming relation can be longer tolerated. The conduct and course of Andrew Johnson as head of the nation are becoming such as to excite the gravest apprehension not only on behalf of the colored people, but for the safety of the country itself; and the alarm will appear all the more reasonable, by recurring to his record for the last five eventful years. For it will be easily seen that his interior desires, purposes, hope[illegible] votes have been really in the interest o[illegible] and of slavery, if not of secession and rebe[illegible] For instance, after secession had commenced but before it had ripened into actual war he said:

> "There are two parties in existence that want dissolution. Slavery and a Southern Confederacy is the hobby. *Sumner wants to break up the Government; and so do the Abolitionists generally.* They hold that if slavery survives, the Union cannot endure. Secessionists argue that if the Union continues, slavery is lost. Abolitionists want no compromise; but they regard peaceable secession as a humbug. The two occupy the same ground. Why, abolition is dissolution; dissolution is secession. One is the other. Both are striving to accomplish the same object."

What was his attack of the twenty-second of February last on Mr. Sumner and others with him, but a little farther extension of the same calumnious accusation?

In 1861, he introduced in the Senate a proposition to so amend the Constitution as that the President at the next election in 1864, *should be selected from the slaveholding States*, and the Vice-President from the non-slaveholding; and that in 1868, the process should be reversed, and so on alternating at the successive elections. A few days afterwards in addressing the Senate, he said *he did not differ much from his Southern friends, except as to the mode of redress*; but he declared he was in the Union, and meant to stay in it. And farther on he said, "let South Carolina send her Senators back here, and Mr. Lincoln cannot even make his cabinet without the consent of the Senate. Was he (Johnson) to be such a coward as to retreat, when it was evident that the South had the power in her own hands? *Was he to be so cowardly as to desert a noble band at the* [illegible] *principle?* ? * * that division of n[illegible] ground for secessi[illegible] *while I try to accomp*[illegible]

In the same speech he said:

> "I do not believe the Federal Government has power to coerce a State, for by the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, it is expressly provided that you cannot even put one of the States of this Confederacy before the courts of the country as a party. As a State the Federal Government has no power to coerce it. * * * I do not know whether you consider it in the Union or out of the Union; but to the extent that a State nullifies or sets aside any law or provision of the Federal Constitution, to that extent it has dissolved its connection, and no more. I think the States that have passed their Personal Liberty laws in violation of the Constitution, coming in conflict with the Fugitive Slave law, to that extent have dissolved their connection; and to that extent it is revolution. But because they have passed Personal Liberty bills, and to that extent have violated the compact which is reciprocal, shall we turn round and violate the Constitution, by coercing them to a compliance with it? Suppose a fugitive slave is arrested in Vermont, and under the law of that State, Vermont undertakes to rescue him, and prevent the enforcement of the law; What is it? It is nullification. It is resistance to the law. It is rebellion. And it is the duty of the President to enforce the law at all hazards, and to the last extremity. And if the Government fail or refuse to execute the laws of the United States on the one hand, and those States by their enactments violate them on the other, the Government is at an end.
>
> "I have stated that there is no power conferred upon the Congress of the United States, by the Constitution, to coerce a State in its sovereign capacity; that there is no power on the part of the Congress of the United States even to bring a State into the supreme tribunal of the country. You cannot put a State at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.
>
> "I do not think it necessary, in order to preserve this Union, or to keep a State within its sphere, that the Congress of the United States should have the power to coerce a State. All that is necessary is for the Government to have the power to execute and to carry out all the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, whether they apply to the State or otherwise."

In these extracts are seen the positions of the President at the breaking out of the rebellion, on the question whether States could secede from the Union. He used Vermont and her Personal Liberty laws only as illustrations. He was arguing against secession at the South, and showing that Vermont was as far out of the Union as South Carolina. Farther on, he gives as reasons for continuing the Union, and for his own personal continuance in the Union, this:

> "*I believe the continuance of slavery depends upon the preservation of this Union*, and a compliance with all the guarantees of the Constitution. I believe an interference with it will break up the Union; and I believe a dissolution of the Union will, in the end, though it may be some time to come, overthrow the institution of slavery. * * *
>
> "How has Lincoln been elected, and upon what basis does he stand? A minority President by nearly a million votes. I want to maintain and retain my place here and put down Mr. Lincoln and drive back his advances upon Southern institutions, if he designs to make any. Have we not got the brakes in our hands? Have we not got the power? We have. Let South Carolina send her Senators back; let all the Senators come; and on the 4th of March next we shall have a majority of six in this body against him. This successful sectional candidate, who is in a minority of a million, or nearly so, on the popular vote, cannot make his Cabinet on the 4th of March next unless this Senate will permit him."

The infamous Crittenden Resolutions he sustained to the last. Even Mr. Seward stood aghast at them, and refused to answer when his name was called. Every other Republican voted against them. The purpose of these quotations cannot be mistaken by reflecting readers. Mr. Johnson, too, stands to-day where he has ever stood—the friend of the South, the friend of slavery, the friend of everything Southern, except secession; a Southern product himself, and out of the sterilest soil, morally, socially and spiritually. Sharing in the general consternation at the assassination of the President, though not in the indignation and sorrow, he uttered many loud words (too many and too loud to be sincere) against "traitors," as he called large numbers who have since become his chosen friends and counsellors and co-workers in the reconstruction of the Government, without one sigh of contrition at the ruin they have wrought. Presuming, or pretending to presume, him an honest, earnest Republican, as the word is used, the party that elected him have clung to him through all the evil report and more evil deeds of the past year, as though he bore the sacred shield, the palladium of hope for freedom, the country and mankind.

The test of patriotic devotion has been acceptance of the President's plan and policy of reconstruction. State Legislatures, conventions, caucuses, churches, cl[illegible] tened to his altar [illegible] and their doxologi[illegible] word and act since [illegible] was appointed, ha[illegible] South, and determination that she shall yet be victorious, if not so already. His interviews with colored men—whether soldiers by regiment, clergymen in delegation, gentlemen in committee, or single and alone—have been marked with manifest scorn and contempt on his part of their whole race. On the other hand, representatives of the rebel race (black only within), from whatever State they came, have been welcomed, their "*ancient instincts of manly honor*" extolled, and themselves encouraged to expect that very soon they will be proudly received back to sit on their now vacated thrones, judging the tribes of the Northern Israel, as in the days of old.

All this time, the Democratic party of the North has been claiming him as their own. Why should they not? The South, too, claims him as her own. Why should she not? Whose work has he best done? To whom and of whom has he spoken most kindly? He solemnly preached to the colored soldiers, many of them wounded and disabled, to go home and go to work. He did not so exhort the white *lazzaroni* who pompously invaded the White House in raiment they never earned, travelling with money pilfered from the unpitied, unpaid slave—meaner a thousand times than highway robbery. He did not prescribe *work* to them. He told the colored clergymen to get themselves to their congregations and preach marriage and chastity! as though every colored virgin in the South had not been outraged (or exposed to it unprotected) by white brutality, for a hundred years! He told Frederick Douglass and the other members of that noble colored delegation who honored him [illegible]selves) with [illegible] to go back to [illegible]fdom and servility in his [illegible] white man's [illegible]nent;" and if not satisfied with it, to be off [illegible] they could fare better. He charged upon Thaddeus (not Alexander H.) Stevens that he was a traitor; on Senator Sumner and Wendell Phillips that they were in spirit "assassins," seeking his blood. The Freedmen's Bureau enactment, almost unanimously approved by Republicans, in Congress and out—indeed, by all humanity below and holiness above—he blasted forever by a stroke of his iron pen. The Civil Rights bill passed under the same anathema; even though, meanly as well as unjustly, restricting suffrage to white men—a distinction that would disgrace any statute book in Christendom but ours—that would not be tolerated in any but ours. What is suffrage, if it be not a civil right? What are civil rights worth that do not include suffrage? What is the Declaration of Independence but a "glittering generality," if some men are born to give, or not to give, that cardinal right to others?

These are specifications which might easily be multiplied, showing where stands the President as between the two great political parties, on the subject of reconstruction. With a brief and, it is to be feared, insincere episode at the assassination of his predecessor, all his acts and utterances the past year have been with the party of slavery, secession and rebellion. As he avowed distinctly his purpose in the Senate in December of 1860, "instead of acting with that division of *my Southern friends* who take ground for secession, *I shall take other grounds, while I try to accomplish the same end!*" As he was [illegible] If the Ethiopian cannot [illegible]er can such a leopard his [illegible]very, born into slavery, [illegible]d up in slavery, he has [illegible] true to his training, onward to the present hour.

Oh, no! the Democrats are not "hypocrites" in their support of Andrew Johnson! The Republican party should be commended to great self-examination before making such a charge. That party was faithfully cautioned against putting him or any slaveholder, especially a Democrat, in that perilous and responsible position. Ben. Wade and Winter Davis, in a period of great illumination, published a protest against it, which was almost a prophecy of the whole dire calamity through which we have been passing in the last five years. But it was all thrown away, as is now likely to be the fulfilment of the prophecy also. Slavery and secession, treason and rebellion had to be propitiated. The Republicans had no man of their own. But among the poor whites of the South, a slaveholding Democrat was found, just to their purpose, a man after slavery's own heart, a traitor on his own declarations, as has been shown—not to the Government and Union, as he understood them, but to all Northern and Republican ideas of justice and freedom—and looking to the same goal with secessionists and rebels—only, as he phrased it, "*Acting on other grounds, while I try to accomplish the same end.*" The South was still to rule; slavery was to reign omnipotent, until only at its high behest "*could Mr. Lincoln make a Cabinet!*"

For a time the Democracy doubted of the President. But it was only when they saw him in, to them, the worst possible company. They did not comprehend his masterly strategy. They know him better now. But the calamity of his infliction on the nation at such a crisis, lies at the door of the Northern party. Let the leaders, who alone are responsible, look to it. The people desired otherwise. Had Charles Sumner himself been nominated at Baltimore, with Mr. Hamlin continued as Vice-President, there would have been the most brilliant and successful campaign and triumph since the days of George Washington.

WHERE HE STANDS.

ON the 19th of February he vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau bill which he had previously approved and promised to sign. By this act he announced his purpose to withdraw from the Freedmen the pledged guardianship of the Government and the protection of military law.

On the 22d of February he harangued a Copperhead mob in front of the White House, declaring the leaders of the Republican party in Congress and the most eminent Radical out of it to be traitors and assassins.

On the 27th of March he vetoed the Civil Rights bill, declaring by his veto that from the Freedmen, whose military protection he had previously destroyed, all civil rights and recourse to law should likewise be taken.

During the same week, having previously promised his political support to the Republican party, then fighting a desperate battle for the possession of a doubtful State, he openly broke faith with that party, approved the act of a subordinate who deserted it, and telegraphed to Hartford that he desired the election of the Democratic candidate.

On Monday of this week he issued a proclamation declaring the war to have been waged throughout on the basis of the Crittenden resolutions passed in July, 1861, just after Bull Run, declaring the rebels all loyal, the laws everywhere supreme, the States all in the Union, their continued military occupation by the troops of the United States dangerous to the public peace, and, in a word, the rebellion at an end.

Thus, in every possible way, by five distinct acts in as many weeks, he has ostentatiously proclaimed his separation from the party which chose him to be Vice-President, and his alliance with the party whose instruments made him President. His contempt for the principles of the Republicans inspired the vetoes, his hatred of their leaders boiled over in the February speech, his resolve to thwart their policy is thrust out in the proclamation of peace.

Peace sitting under her olive, and slurring the days gone by——
—Is it peace or war? Civil war, as I think, and that of a kind.
The viler as underhand, not openly bearing the sword.

Long ago Wendell Phillips said the President had made himself three-quarters rebel in order to make the rebels one-quarter Union. But to-day the rebels are no [illegible] while the President—where is [illegible]m? [illegible]f no value as affecting any [illegible]ay issue one every day, if he [illegible]re any new rights for himself nor take any away from Congress, nor confer any on the rebel States. He may withdraw his troops from the States, call home the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and leave the negroes to the unchecked fury of their exasperated masters; but he could do all that as well without a proclamation as with.

The proclamation is a lie. Chicanery and deceit run through it from beginning to end. It is a fraud to quote the Crittenden resolutions passed in the dark days of July, 1861, as having expressed the sense of Congress—meaning that *this* Congress is bound by the declarations of its predecessor, or entertains similar opinions. No man knows it better than Andrew Johnson. Had the war been what timid politicians in 1861 thought or wanted it to be, where would Andrew Johnson have got the power to rule Tennessee as Military Governor? Was there no "conquest or subjugation" no "overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions" of that State? We all know there was, and that Andrew Johnson was the willing instrument of a government that trampled State Rights in the dust—rightly so—and all but obliterated State lines to the enforcement of its just authority.

The President asserts that in ten States—he does not include Texas—"the laws can be sustained and enforced therein by the proper civil authority, State or Federal, and the people of the said States are well and loyally disposed, and have conformed or will conform their legislation to the condition of affairs growing out of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting slavery within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States."

Neither allegation is true. The laws in those States are not enforced by civil authority; even the civil offices cannot be filled because the "well and loyally-disposed people" cannot or will not take the oath of allegiance to this government. Thousands of such cases have been officially reported. The Treasury and Post-Office departments clamor for the repeal of the oath by Congress, so that they may set their machinery to running—and with unpardoned, impenitent Rebels to run it. "Their legislation," says the President, "has conformed or *will* conform to the condition of affairs growing out of" emancipation—a safe statement perhaps, for nobody can deny that some day it may thus conform, but the President knows it does not so conform to-day. He has himself annulled many State and municipal laws by military power, which laws do, nevertheless, remain on the statute books waiting the withdrawal of that military power by just such a proclamation as this, to be relentlessly enforced against the freedmen they were designed to oppress. The vagrant and apprenticeship codes of Mississippi, of Louisiana, of South Carolina and the rest, re-enact almost every element of slavery. Compulsory labor, serfdom, the lash, are all lawful in those States, assuming, as the President does, the legality of the State Legislatures. When he says they have conformed to the Anti-Slavery amendment, he says what is false, and what he knows to be false. When he says they will conform, he evades the question, and makes his proclamation ridiculous by basing it on a prediction.

All the talk about the integrity of States and the impossibility of dependencies, etc., under the Constitution is nonsense unless Mr. Johnson means to say that those States should have during the war enjoyed like political rights with the loyal States. So of the objection to standing armies and military occupation. All admit they were necessary during the war, and in arguing the question whether the war is over, it is begging the question to say that they are dangerous to public liberty. They are dangerous if the war is over; not dangerous if it is not over. And as the war did not begin when the sword was drawn, it does not end when it is sheathed.

The proclamation is said to have produced excitement in Washington from a notion that it foreshadowed a forcible reconstruction—we suppose on the Garret Davis plan of organizing another Congress out of the Northern Copperheads and Southern rebels, and recognizing that. No such scheme will be attempted. Andrew Johnson is a monomaniac on his "policy," perhaps, but not crazy enough to attempt a revolution or usurpation. It is not from such considerations this pronunciamento derives its importance, but because it is one other barrier between Andrew Johnson and the party he has deserted, between the President and the Congress he is making war on, between the President and the country he is seeking to betray. Every act tending to make those issues plain is welcome. Again and again he has thrown down the gauntlet; the hesitation to lift it cannot continue always.

ANDREW JOHNSON AND THE ROMAN MARIUS.

THERE is something in the character and career of Andrew Johnson that reminds us of Marius, the Roman Consul. The resemblance is especially and painfully striking in Mr. Johnson's late harangue to the populace from the portico of the White House, and in the habit, which seems to be growing upon him, of referring in his public speeches to the humble circumstances of his early life, and tracing up therefrom his triumphant progress to his present position of honor and power. Mr. Lincoln began life under as mean and adverse conditions as Mr. Johnson; nor did he seek more than Mr. Johnson to conceal his humble origin; but he never fell into the opposite weakness of exhibiting it as a merit. Mr. Lincoln had the true republican instinct: to be born low or high was with him a matter of entire indifference. Mr. Johnson has the demagogue's instinct: he talks as if to be born low were better than to be born high. And in the affected humility, but real and offensive egotism, of the President's repeated inquiry,—"When has Andrew Johnson ever betrayed the people?"—we see again the demagogue involuntarily unmasking himself; we can readily imagine from Plutarch's account, that thus Marius exclaimed of himself to the populace in the Roman forum.

This great Roman popular leader was born of obscure and indigent parents in the humblest ranks of the people. In his youth, he worked as a common peasant for wages. Entering the Roman army he rose rapidly to celebrity as a soldier and general, and through his great services for Rome in war, became one of her most favored and powerful political leaders. In regular succession he was elected to all the grades of civil office—was tribune, aedile, praetor—and finally reached the highest, the consulship. But through all his good fortune, and even after his ascent to the highest power in the State, he never forgot the obscurity of his origin, but rather took constant pains to mention it as if he were proud of it, and used it as one of the means by which he kept his authority with the people. It is recorded of him: "He made it a glory and a boast, that, mean as was his origin, he could excel his high-born adversaries in virtue, ability, and courage. * * * * He took every opportunity of insulting and trampling upon the nobles of the Senate, and proudly compared his own wounds and military experience with their indolent habits and ignorance of war." "These things he said," remarks Plutarch, "not out of mere vanity and arrogance, or needlessly to embroil himself with the nobility; but he saw the people took pleasure in seeing the Senate insulted, and that they measured the greatness of a man's mind by the insolence of his language; and therefore, to gratify them, he spared not the greatest men in the State."

Yet Marius, during his successive tenures of office, did great deeds, especially by his military genius, for the safety and renown of Rome. In many respects he was the true friend of the people; and he proclaimed liberty to all slaves who would adhere to his standards in time of war. At the end of his fifth consulship, it was decided that he should be honored for his victories with the festival of "the triumph." He was hailed by the populace as the saviour of the State and third founder of Rome.

But from this time began his fall. It would have been fortunate for him, says Niebuhr, if he had died on the day of his triumph. Hitherto his career had been in the main, glorious; but afterward, the bad qualities of his nature got the mastery and ruled him to his ruin. And mark the steps by which he went down, carrying Rome with him. Plutarch says: "He aspired to a sixth consulship with more ardor than any man had ever shown for his first. He courted the people, and endeavored to ingratiate himself with the meanest of them, by such servile condescensions, as were not only unsuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his disposition; assuming an air of gentleness and complaisance for which nature never meant him. It is said, that in civil affairs, and the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him an uncommon timidity. That intrepid firmness which he discovered in battle forsook him in the assemblies of the people, and the least breath of praise or dislike disconcerted him in his address. Yet, we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thousand Camerians, who had distinguished themselves by their behavior in the wars, and his proceeding was found fault with as contrary to law, he said—'The law spoke too softly to be heard amidst the din of arms.' However, the noise that he dreaded, and that robbed him of his presence of mind, was that of popular assemblies. In war he easily obtained the highest rank, because they could not do without him; but in the administration he was sometimes in danger of losing the honors he solicited. In these cases he had recourse to the partiality of the multitude; and had no scruple of making his honesty subservient to his ambition."

To gain his points he was led to join himself with some of the most turbulent and dangerous spirits in Rome, and to commit acts of the most ungenerous deceit and perfidy towards his friends and associates in the government—not considering "that he was giving the reins to a destroying fury who was making his way in blood to absolute power and the subversion of the state." Civil wars, full of horrors, followed—marked by alternate banishments, flights, massacres, of one and the other party, until the Roman Republic was well nigh destroyed, and only the shell of democratic institutions was left to tell of the life which had departed from them. And when Marius, in his old age, after many ebbs and flows of fortune—during which he was sometimes a solitary exile in foreign lands, sometimes a hunted fugitive, forsaken by all parties and friends, hiding himself in the marshes of Italy, and sometimes again, through a general slaughter of his enemies, ruling as an autocrat in Rome—when, at last, he attains the consulship again, and for the seventh time, he governs for a few brief days in a country which his popular ambition and intrigues have made a desolation. His faculties fail; the young life of the time and truer men; he trembles now at the very sion of wars in which he was wont to glory sleep seems to hear a voice continually pro his ear his doom. "Unable," says Plutarch, port the painfulness of watching, he had the bottle, and gave in to those excesses means suited his years." And thus the great Marius dies: and the historian adds, as epitaph—the epitaph of this once famous people and emancipator of slaves—"His death ductive of the greatest joy in Rome, and looked upon it as an event that freed them worst of tyrannies."

God grant that our Marius may not know nor the American Republic such a danger fear that the horrors of Rome in the first fore Christ can be repeated in America in teenth century after Christ; yet it will be people to remember this lesson of Roman an able, plausible demagogue, through excit ple against imagined usurpations of power stitutional authorities of government, may most dangerous of usurpers.

APPLICATION OF TERMS.—It is most amusing, *Commercial Advertiser*, to witness the fre which our Southern cotemporaries apply the or to those at the North differing with the We can now scarcely take up a journal publis of Mason and Dixon's line, in which Congress ferred to as "a pack of traitors" or "rebels constituted authority," while its supporters with "attempting to ride down and overthrow stitution."

A TRAITOR TESTIFYING.

WE have no words fitly to express our the insult offered to the country by the Committee, in summoning before them Ro that "cruel wretch and unhanged traitor," as *Evening Post* called him last Summer. "W to treat this man," said the *Post*, "as any unhanged traitor that he is, ought to through life by the miserable spectres that of Richmond into the free air only to die. wretch a Congressional Committee sends for which to base National action! Is the evidence perjured traitor to be held up as trustworth American people? Did that Committee stultify going through the farce of administering jured officer an oath! What stigma do treason to prevent its being committed the next imminent rebellion, when this thousands murdered at Belle Isle and is thus honored by a Congress Committee opinion were of any worth; his word to any honest man; as if he had any right self in the presence of loyal and Christian Government could, without utter loss of take any notice of such a culprit, except his body and send his memory to rot. When rebellion breaks out—no man knows how and some one on Gen. Grant's staff, educated Point, deserts his post and betrays his super *with us just long enough to carry the latest Government over to the rebels*, he can look back "Well, if I succeed, I make myself famous eloquent clergymen will call me, as they 'honest patriot and Christian gentleman,' and struction Committees will send for my opinion

REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA F ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WE have received from the excellent corre Secretary, Miss Grew, the Thirty-second Annu of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Soci like those which have preceded it, a careful eeting compilation of anti-slavery history for year; with many suggestions and reflections profound meaning to every earnest worker of human amelioration and elevation, espe affecting the colored race. We will try to for most of it next week, together with a li officers of the Society.

DASTARDLY ATTEMPT.—The Washington dent of the Boston *Commonwealth* says a dar was made on Sunday night to set fire to the by Mrs. Jane Swisshelm as a dwelling-house ing-office. The front basement was entered sene poured on the floor and over some which was set on fire. Fortunately the serv not retired, and, entering the room, dis covered and succeeded in quenching the minutes later the basement would have been and then escape from the upper part of the have been impossible, as there is no pass house, and the stairway being in the centre drawn up the flames like a flue. Four sleep in the house, which is in rather a lo the city. Their lives would have been sacrific Swisshelm proposes to discontinue the on the ground of inability to carry on a villany of this character.

CONGRESSIONAL CASTE.—A Washington of the *Herald* says an effort is to be made to classify the auditors who visit the gallerie seats for the Members of Congress and the families are demanded by some of the bette Senators, whose olfactories are offended by aroma. Besides, even when the colored p kept separate from white folks, it is found *naille*, or common people, mix up among the families, so that it is difficult to disting monalty from the aristocracy. The ladie and the senators therefore request the Serge to classify folks, but that officer don't feel comply with the request, so says Senator offered a resolution, directing a place to be the *distingué*.

"THE TEMPLE OF OPINIONS."—This is a nal devoted to politics, literature and by Mr. W. W. BROOM. Mr. Broom was one active and devoted champions of the loyal the working men of England; efficient in keeping alive their intelligent purpose to our side:—that *purpose* which balked the Go ernment in its earnest wish to acknowl federacy. He deserves cordial welcome, does, to exercise the same tireless vigilan the same efficient aid in founding our State sis of absolute and impartial justice. The his work we have seen are interesting and address is 79 John street or 121 Nassau York.

THE COMING ANNIVERSARY.—The New *cial* thinks the approaching May anniversa city will be marked by a vigorous camp American Anti-Slavery Society. It says Mr. Phillips, the President, has issued a call of the Association, in Dr. Cheever's Square, on the 8th of May. He thinks that of the negro are to-day in more fearful time since the first fire on Sumter," and ing is invited in order to strengthen the hearts of those who are fighting his battle.

PEOPLE AND PRESIDENT.—The Rox of the President's speech on the 22d Feb result: "There must be an outlet at on the 22d, freed from the restraining retary Seward, and impelled by other erup that may be conjectured, the crater volcano poured its long-pent-up lava of land. The spell was then broken. impossible from that moment. The Pr vealed himself, and the people knew him.

IMPORTANT, IF IT BE SO.—The *Herald* says ond veto message of the President has depriv Radicals) of their stock in trade. They assert that there are no material difference President and Congress; they can no long innocent voters with misrepresentations of dent's policy. The whole matter is now as moon after the eclipse, and all the radical from Sumner down to Stewart, cannot alter it." Such a consummation has long been to be wished, if indeed there be any virtue left in the Republican party, or any portion of

KANSAS AND ITS NEW POPULATION.

BELOW are a few extracts of a private letter from Mrs. A. L. Raley, the mother of Edwin and Barclay Coppoc, of John Brown and Harper's Ferry memory. She is travelling in Kansas for reasons explained in the letter itself, her home being in Iowa.

PARDEE, Kansas, 3d mo. 26th, 1866.

We have been spending about six months in this new, celebrated, and very active State. We have travelled about five hundred miles through the interior; seen all the Indian missions, with many other places of notoriety, and indeed all the towns of consequence in the State. But our principal business was to see the condition of those who have just come out of bondage, and to find some of the *lost ones*,—relatives of colored friends and neighbors of ours in Iowa. We find that as a general thing they are quite industrious, and doing well. Amongst the thousands in Leavenworth, Lawrence and Atchison, I do not remember to have seen one particularly ragged or disagreeable. Their schools are progressing satisfactorily, numbers of which we visited. Their situation is not quite so favorable in Westport, Kansas City and Wyandot, as there seems to be considerable prejudice against them in those places. At Quindara there is a great school, which the superintendent told us they were about raising into a University, saying they must have their own doctors, lawyers, etc. We found several of the *lost ones* in our travels; for instance at Lawrence, we found the mother and sister of the colored man who has lived with us and farmed for us five years. She was overjoyed at hearing from her son, not having heard anything from him since he ran away from slavery nine years ago. She said, "I have prayed and prayed to hear from him, and now I *have* heard from him. Bless the Lord!" She thanked me over and over for being a *mother* (as she said) to him, and teaching him to read and write, and keep his accounts. His sister was married, and they, too, were doing well, owning a house and lot in the suburbs of Lawrence. At Leavenworth we found the daughter of one of our colored neighbors, who is also prospering well.

* * * * *

I had the solemn satisfaction of standing on Pilot Knob, by the grave of my son, Barclay Coppoc; and though his body is resting there from all its toils and sufferings, his *spirit* is marching on, the treachery of the President and others, notwithstanding. I fear the hardest fight for freedom and Human Rights is yet to come.

A CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT.—The *Tribune's* special at Washington writes on Monday that "the Andrew Johnson National Campaign Committee have just issued their first campaign document. It has the President's veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, his speech of February 22, Secretary Seward's and Raymond's Cooper Institute speeches indorsing the veto, corrected and revised; and the account of the conversation between Gov. Cox of Ohio and the President." The object of these documents is not very apparent.

A FORTUNATE DISCOVERY.—The Chicago *Journal* says the Supreme Court of Wisconsin have decided that negroes were entitled, as long ago as 1847, to vote in that State. We believe the people have twice voted, since then, against allowing them that right; but no matter. The vexed question is settled, and our Wisconsin neighbors can now urge upon their Southern brethren the extension of suffrage with a better grace. But what a saving it would have been to *our friends* in Wisconsin, if the discovery had been made sooner.

Gen. Hawley was elected Governor of Connecticut on Monday last by a majority of 509 votes. The New York *Times* says: "Gen. Hawley was saved by the wisdom and patriotism of the State Convention by which he was nominated. He was strengthened in the canvass by *the absence of speakers of Mr. Greeley's stripe.* John Sherman did good service. Gen. Nye spoke wisely and well, as he always does. Had the Convention in nominating Gen. Hawley adopted what the *Tribune* calls an '*Impartial Freedom Suffrage' Platform, Mr. English would have beaten him by four or five thousand majority.*"

CONGRESS INDORSED.—The Republican Legislatures of Wisconsin and California have passed resolutions in opposition to the policy of the President and sustaining Congress. The Wisconsin House of Assembly voted to instruct the Congressional delegation from that State to pass the Civil Rights bill over the veto. And the Supreme Court of the State has also decided and declared that complexion has nothing to do with human rights here; not even with right of suffrage.

PRESIDENTIAL PROSCRIPTION.—An order was issued on [illegible] to the various Departments to withhold all [illegible] patronage from the *Chronicle*. It is under[illegible] all papers that fail to sustain the Reconstruc[illegible]y of the President will be treated likewise, [illegible]vertising will be given to Democratic papers. All the other Washington papers sustain the President, and all have the same patronage, all being sound in Democratic faith, and all assailing Congress and the Radicals daily.

ALL HONOR TO THE CHIVALRY.—The freedmen of Richmond celebrated the first anniversary of their deliverance from bondage on Tuesday. The procession, embracing several thousands of men, marched from the western suburbs, through the principal streets with banners and music to Capitol square, where an address was delivered by Rev. Mr. Hunnicut. Good order prevailed during the day.

NORTH CAROLINA.—A writer says: "In Samson County, N. C., 600 'children,' some of them 21 years of age, were lately bound out by the county court, and then torn from their homes and carried to an unnecessary apprenticeship by an armed and mounted police force. Some of these 'children' were taking care of themselves at the time."

AARON M. POWELL is giving occasional lectures, taking for his theme, "Suffrage." He is to speak at Westbury, L. I., on the 8th inst.; at Easton, N. Y., on the 15th.

The attention, especially of our *young* friends, is called to the proposal at the head of our Editorial Column.

BOOK NOTICES.—THE *Atlantic* for April has come since our last. Its table of contents is as follows: Last days of Walter Savage Landor, I.; My Annual; Were they Crickets?; Madam Waldoborough's Carriage; Sainte-Beuve; De Spiridione Episcopo; A struggle for Shelter; Killed at the Ford; The Late Insurrection in Jamaica; The President and Congress; Reviews and Literary Notices.

Every Saturday bore the *Atlantic* company. So much for Ticknor & Fields.

The *Methodist Quarterly Review* has just reached us. Carlton & Porter, New York; Poe & Hitchcock, Cincinnati. It is an ably conducted and well printed journal, devoted, as it name indicates, to the interests of the Methodist Faith.

The *Radical* is as usual for deep, foundation work. No journal in the land is more deserving of patronage.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.—We are indebted to Hon. Senator Sumner for two valuable volumes of Senatorial Reports on those important branches of the national economy.

DETROIT DAILY POST.—Such is the name of a new and large sheet to be conducted and edited by Gen. Carl Shurz. Here is a specimen of one of his editorials:

It is related of a jolly old seaman that, when the cannibals, into whose hands he had fallen, were discussing the question whether he should be boiled, roasted, or cut into slices and broiled upon a bed of hot coals, he chewed his "fine-cut" with undisturbed *sang froid;* but when a proposition was made to stuff his carcass with young monkey, preparatory for baking it, he suddenly broke out, "Avast there, you black devils! ain't *I* going to be consulted on that point?" The absurdity of *his* being consulted was so overpowering to the Fejee intellect that the savage islanders set him at liberty, in payment for the laugh he had created.

It may strike the gentlemen who are busily engaged in framing Reconstruction policies, Freedman's Bureau bills, and representation amendments to the Constitution, as equally absurd that the negro should desire to be consulted as to the disposition to be made of his future on this continent. He has been silent, except an occasional semi-groan, or involuntary squeak, during half a century of selling in the shambles, flaying with the lash, and occasional roastings at the stake; and it certainly does appear a little odd that he should desire to be consulted on the question of stuffing, now that he is to be finally served up at the feast which is to celebrate a restored Union and reconstructed Republic.

PERSONAL.

Alexander H. Stephens arrived at Washington on Monday evening. Who next?

Gov. Pierpont, of Virginia, has addressed a strong letter to Senators Van Winkle and Willey, of West Virginia, earnestly and ardently supporting the course of the Radicals in Congress.

Mrs. Jefferson Davis is understood to be en route to Washington in hopes of obtaining permission to visit her husband in his prison at Fortress Monroe. She will probably arrive, in the company of A. H. Stephens, within a day or two.

The Westboro, Mass., correspondent of the Worcester *Spy* writes: "An old lady, Mrs. Ruggles, is now living in this town, at the venerable age of 93 years, with faculties yet undimmed, who, while a teacher in Cambridge, numbered among her pupils a fair-haired boy named Robert E. Lee, afterward known to infamy as the Commander-in-Chief of the rebel army."

The Hon. John P. Hale, now U. S. Minister at the Spanish Court, has written home to certain members of Congress that his salary—$12,000 per annum in gold—is too small, and he wants it increased. Mr. Hale may not be able to live in Madrid for that money, but New Hampshire has men in plenty who could and would do better work there than he for less than twelve hundred gold dollars, if they had the opportunity.

Hon. Solomon Foot, one of the oldest and most respected members of the U. S. Senate, died on Wednesday of last week. He was a man of great moral worth, a thorough gentleman in deportment, and much respected by his fellow-members. He long presided in the Senate, and had perfect familiarity with its rules. Mr. Foot is the second Senator deceased from Vermont since its Legislature adjourned, almost the last speech he made being the announcement of the death of Judge Collamer, his eminent colleague.

New Orleans papers tell of an old colored preacher at Port Gibson who recently baptized thirty colored converts and charged them a dollar a piece. On the following Sunday he only succeeded in inducing two to present themselves who were willing to pay. Becoming indignant at the parsimony of his congregation, he refused to baptize the two candidates for glory, saying he warn't gwine to slosh hisseff up for no two dollars of anybody's money.

Chester Harding, the artist, and one of the pioneer portrait painters of this country, died in Boston on Sunday night last. He painted nearly all the distinguished men of his day—Webster, Clay, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Allston, of this country, and Samuel Rogers, Lord Aberdeen, Dukes of Norfolk, Hamilton and Sussex, of England. Among his latest efforts was a picture of Gen. Sherman, which he left unfinished. His home was in Springfield, Mass., where he has resided for more than half a century, and where he will be buried.

Prof. Tayler Lewis has contributed to the *Independent* an essay on "American Parialism," characterized by his eminent clearness of perception and force of statement. Here is a specimen of its logic:

"There is a miserable fallacy contained in the now oft-repeated assertion that 'voting is not a natural right.' Such a sophism is swept away immediately by the truthful and logical statement of the issue. No man has a natural right *to be* a voter without qualifications or conditions; but every man in a Republican State has a natural right *to become* a voter on the same terms with all other men, or you exclude him from the pale of humanity. This is the true 'natural right;' and this proposition we are prepared to defend against all deniers. The conditions may be high, and a wise State will make them such; but an absolute exclusion from ever reaching the ballot, or any representation in it—such as is had by those who are non-voting by reason of the family relations of marriage, sex, and minority—is simply a shutting out from the community of human beings."

PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.—The Peace Proclamation will be found in another column. It is not the first cry of peace, peace, where there was no peace!

The New York *Times*, which knows the secrets of the East room better perhaps than most others, says:

"The issuing of the Proclamation at this moment is especially important, in view of the brief pause in the Congressional struggle, and the anxiety with which the country watches for its renewal in the Senate. The President has now cleared the ground as thoroughly as possible. There will be no tenable pretence for talking of or dealing with the South as still in rebellion; for the President, in the exercise of an incontestable authority, *has declared the rebellion ended.* There can be no excuse for dictating terms to Southern States as conquered provinces, or imposing conditions upon their people as subjugated rebels, at the mercy of the conqueror; for the Executive of the nation has proclaimed that the rights of the States in the South *are as valid as those of the States in the North;* that the civil authority of Georgia is as perfect in its sphere as that of Massachusetts, *and that the Southern people are, as a whole, loyally intent upon doing their duty as citizens of the United States.* There can no longer be a decent pretext for excluding Southern Representatives from Congress, or for enacting laws applying peculiarly to the Southern States. To this extent, therefore, the proceeding of the President cannot fail to exercise a potent influence upon the sayings and doings of Congress. It deprives the agitators and mischief-makers of their only apology, and blunts the weapon with which they have hitherto fought. They must either accept the fact promulgated by the President, with all its logical consequences, or assume an attitude of resistance to the authority lawfully vested in him."

THE JAMAICA WARNING.—The Boston *Christian Register* hopes for better things in this country than have followed emancipation in Jamaica, and most devoutly do we; but only a mighty counter-action by the people against the Administration policy can save us. The *Register* trustfully says:

"Whatever a few ignorant, prejudiced, or mercenary men may wish or design, it is the evident purpose of the majority of Americans that this problem shall be solved so as to save us from a repetition of the Jamaica butcheries. We intend to scatter the spelling book and reader through the whole South. Though school-houses be burned, and, it may be in some instances teachers be killed, the black man will have the privilege of learning to read. If there is one idea rooted and woven into the minds of the masses, who will in the future rule this country, it is that which recognizes and insists on universal education. This idea will become a fact North and South, East and West, among blacks and whites. Again, our institutions are based on the principle that government must emanate from the people, and that no class, as a class, shall be excluded from the ballot. This is the American idea, and though it has been confronted by one entirely its antagonist, the latter has had to yield. What the war could not prevent will not be stayed by Presidential vetoes. American ideas of education and liberty will rule America. All efforts to withstand the onward progress will be of no avail. The triumph may be retarded, but it will surely come at last. We may have our Bull Runs and Chancellorsvilles and Red River disasters, but these will at last be followed by victory. The horrid scenes in Jamaica teach us to beware how we delay or postpone the work of education and the exercise of justice. Four millions of freedmen in a republic, without equal rights and privileges, are vastly more dangerous to the national welfare than the same number of slaves. The voice then which comes from Jamaica is one of solemn warning. Let us begin by being just to the freedmen, and then will come the blessed fruit of righteousness. They will add to the wealth, strength and happiness of the nation.

BAD STATE OF THINGS.—The New York *World* said on Saturday last, that "there are 1,100 blacks attending school in Richmond, and in the largest, the teacher reads the proceedings of Congress every night, thus keeping the school fully informed on the news of the day." The same paper contains the following in a special Washington dispatch:

"Secretary Stanton tried very hard to get permission to allow the negroes to celebrate, on the third of April, the capture of Richmond, which is the anniversary of its fall. Gen. Terry stated in a communication that if the celebration was permitted he should need more troops. In the meantime a committee came from Richmond to remonstrate against allowing the celebration on the ground that it might lead to an outbreak. The matter was laid before the President. He referred it to Gen. Grant and Gen. Howard. The former thought that it would be bad policy under the circumstances to permit it, inasmuch as it would require additional troops to be sent there to prevent any disturbance. The President thereupon directed Gen. Terry to issue an order forbidding the celebration to take place, and thus ended Stanton's attempt to get up a negro celebration." But the day was observed after all; and a glorious time the freedmen had of it.

HOW GOV. AIKEN'S "PEOPLE" REGARD HIM.—A late South Carolina correspondence has the following interesting paragraph:

Gov. Aiken called upon the freedmen near his place on Johosse, a few days ago, and proposed a contract to them. "Now," said he, "the land is entitled to one-third of the crop, the implements, mules, horses, rations, etc., another third, and the labor one-third. I will find the land and the provisions, implements, etc., and give you one-third of the crop for your labor." They told him that his proposition was very fair, but having a vivid recollection of how he used to feed them in days gone by, they would prefer to change it round a little, so that they could find their own rations, mules, implements, etc., and give him one-third of the crop for his land—just what he had said it was entitled to. The Governor left without making an agreement, thinking, doubtless, that freedom had put some very impracticable ideas into their heads, and that it would have been far better for them if they had continued slaves.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 2, 1866.

ONE, at least, of our city preachers improved the opportunities of yesterday, Easter Sunday, by speaking of things present rather than things past. Rev. David A. Wasson, pastor of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston, took for his subject the President's veto of the Civil Rights bill, pointed out the absurdity of its attempts at reasoning and the viciousness of its action and tendency, and gave a fervent exhortation to the people to sustain the wiser and juster action of Congress, and to stimulate that body to yet more vigorous efforts in maintenance of free principles and a Republican government. Most justly he said, not only that the chief magistrate of the nation had now become its chief offender, but that the recent developments of his character have shown him to be one of those most dangerous men who can be even more earnest and persistent in wrong than in right. He has had, to the full, the exercise of that magnanimous trustfulness which eminently distinguishes the American people, yet, far from being impressed by it, he now betrays their interests and sacrifices their rights.

The bill vetoed, claimed only *civil* rights for the negro, the very least that decency, not to speak of honor and justice, could claim as his due. If these rights, the plainest rights of protection which society owes to the individual, shall still be withheld from the colored people, it is the masters, not the slaves, who have been emancipated, and the law of the land will still be the violation of the negro's rights, as it was during the nation's disgraceful maintenance of slavery. In supporting such a policy after his well-known statements of a few months ago to the colored people, Andrew Johnson shows himself a Moses turned Pharaoh. He refuses to this large class of our population not only permission to vote, but to exercise and enjoy the other dearest rights of men. Abraham Lincoln freed four millions of slaves. Andrew Johnson is trying to reduce four millions of freemen to a condition nearly akin to slavery; and his tombstone might appropriately record that his administration diminished the security both of persons and property in the country that he ruled.

The President's *reasons* for his veto (Mr. Wasson said) are a tangle of the flimsiest sophistry ever put together.

He enumerates the classes of persons who would profit by this bill, objecting to it because it would assist and confirm the rights of so large a number! He appeals to the paltry prejudices which have always inspired the mobs of this country in opposition to freedom and equal rights for all! The bill, he says, discriminates against intelligent and patriotic foreigners; [resident aliens!] and therefore, in the interest of these worthy, intelligent, *patriotic* aliens, four millions of native citizens must be robbed of their rights! This paragraph seems to be a bid for the votes of that class of persons who murdered negro babies in the streets of New York a few years ago.

If Congress can confer these civil rights it can confer political privileges, the President says. So much the better! Congress might thus remove a great disgrace which has up to this time rested on our country. But what are we to think of him who presents, as an argument against the Civil Rights Bill, the consideration that, if this piece of justice should be done, another might be done?

The President's real objection to this bill is that, if passed, it would make the negro as secure as any other man, in person and property. By presenting such objections to such an object he corrupts the morality of the land, and makes war on the public conscience. The demands of the Civil Rights bill are almost culpably moderate. It proposes protection only to person and property. It gives merely civil, without political rights. It offers help only in matters wherein the very laws oppress a portion of the population living under them. But even this measure of relief the President opposes.

Mr. Wasson charged the President not only with discriminating against the loyal and in favor of the disloyal people of the South, and with deliberately fomenting the spirit of rebellion in his policy towards the rebels, but with taking the position that it is his part and not the people's, to decide on what terms the rebel States shall be restored. The people, the source of power, the rightful judges both of the President and of Congress, should speak in this matter, and speak unitedly, resolutely and promptly. Only thus can we prevent the South from remaining victorious, as it was at the time when Wendell Phillips so declared it. To falter now would be to devote the next twenty years to choosing another Abraham Lincoln and fighting another war.

In the course of this admirable sermon Mr. Wasson made allusions to a fact showing the untrustworthy character of the President, which I find more minutely detailed in this morning's *Advertiser*, in the following extract from a speech lately made by Gov. Brownlow at Knoxville, Tennessee:

"I have some secrets to tell of the Freedmen's Bureau bill. I think the bill was objectionable, and it might have been proper for me to veto it, but President Johnson ought not to have done it. Gens. Howard and Fiske drew up that bill. They carried it to the President and read it to him, section by section. He favored it. Gen. Fiske thought the expense would be too great, but the President said 'no.' He urged it and promised to sign it if Congress should pass it. It went through both Houses. In the meantime he got into a personal quarrel with Sumner and others, and when the bill came before him for his signature he vetoed it, after having promised to favor it. This is a secret, but true."

Of this the *Advertiser* says—

"This statement has already been made from several different quarters, but has met a half-way denial from some of the Democratic papers. There can be no doubt of its substantial truth however."

Recent events in Richmond, Virginia, are highly instructive in regard to the character of the class of Southern people who are especially favored by President Johnson. Among these I will mention one great and one little one.

It is asserted, and it is also denied, that Gen. Terry has forbidden the freedmen in and around Richmond to hold a public celebration of the anniversary of the capture of that rebel city by the forces of the United States. What is certain is, that the indignation of the favorers and partners of secession at the very mention of such a festival was extreme, that the feeling of the white population is excited to a high degree against those who propose to hold it, that the prospect of a violent outbreak was so probable that a regiment of regular troops has been moved towards Richmond, and that the exacerbation of the F. F. Vs. is such that, for the sake of their feelings, and in fear of their violent interference with the patriotic demonstrations of others, the proposed celebration may be suppressed!

This white population of Richmond is a fair specimen of the sort of people, spread all over the South, in whose behalf the President is opposing and obstructing Congress, and preventing, as far as lies in his power, the admission of Southern black loyalists to citizenship, and the substantial benefits of freedom.

The *rights* of conquered rebels against just authority! The *rights* of men who, having added robbery and murder to perjury and treason, fought in defence of their villanies as long as they could hold a weapon! It is in maintenance of their ridiculous pretence of having rights against the United States that President Johnson has woven the sophistries of his veto message. It will be in deference to the claim of their wounded feelings if the proposed celebration of the loyal blacks of Richmond shall be interfered with. As well might the burglars and murderers in any State Prison talk about their *right* to liberty, and complain of cells, and bolts, and guards as an injury to their *feelings!*

The *little* circumstance to which I alluded above is a serious complaint, an ostentatious and elaborate lamentation of the Richmond *Examiner*, in view of the fact that another newspaper of that city has placed the announcement of the marriage of two colored persons in the same column with other marriage notices. This act marks, the *Examiner* thinks, the epoch of Southern self-abasement! It must excite in white men a keen sense of contamination! "The personal insult is merged in the indignity offered to the whole race!" Once, (that is to say, before Gen. Grant's last victory), "no man would have dared to insult this community in so flagrant a manner!"

Alas! how many such outrages have the chivalry had to complain of! In the good old times there was not only no publication of marriage, but no marriage, for such girls as the one here in question. If it became necessary for a white mouth to speak of her at all, she would have been called not a girl, but a wench. She would probably have been a slave; and in that case her children would have been put, as a matter of course, into her master's pocket, and this equally, whether they were also the children of one who was a husband to her as far as the laws of Virginia would allow, or whether they sprung from her enforced subjection to her master, or his son, or his overseer, or all of these! Those were the good old times of Buchanan, of Pierce, of Polk, of Tyler! Now, alas, this wench not only marries like a white woman, and sees her marriage advertised like those of white women, but will send her children to a school with white children! Is it not probable that the Southern "poor white man" who was raised to the Presidency by the election of J. Wilkes Booth takes the same view of these changes that the Richmond *Examiner* takes? Why else is he laboring to keep the Southern blacks still a distinct and subordinate class? But the great question is—Shall we assist him in a policy looking in this direction, or shall we counteract him?

NORTH.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT, IF TRUE.

[The President has issued the following proclamation declaring officially *the end of the rebellion and war.* At first, we thought to take down several stories of *whereases*, and give the foundation works chiefly, sparing readers as much as possible. But on further thought, we conclude to put the whole document on record, for future if not for present advantage.]

By the President of the United States.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, By proclamation on the fifteenth and nineteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, the President of the United States, in virtue of the power vested in him by the Constitution and the laws, declared that the laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law;

And whereas, By another proclamation made on the sixteenth day of August, in the same year, in pursuance of an act of Congress approved July thirteenth, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, the inhabitants of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida—except the inhabitants of that part of the State of Virginia lying west of the Alleghany Mountains, and to such other parts of that State and the other States before named as might maintain a loyal adhesion to the Union and the Constitution, or might be from time to time occupied and controlled by the forces of the United States engaged in the dispersion of insurgents, were declared to be in a state of insurrection against the United States;

And whereas, By another proclamation on the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, issued in pursuance of an act of Congress approved June seventh, in the same year, the insurrection was declared to be still existing in the States aforesaid, with the exception of certain specified counties in the State of Virginia;

And whereas, By another proclamation, made on the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, in pursuance of the act of Congress of July thirteen, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, the exceptions named in the proclamation of August sixteen, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, were revoked, and the inhabitants of the States of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida, and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties of Virginia designated as West Virginia, and the ports of New Orleans, Key West, Port Royal, and Beaufort, in South Carolina, were declared to be in a state of insurrection against the United States; and, whereas, the House of Representatives, on the 22d day of July, 1861, adopted a resolution in the words following, viz.:

Resolved, By the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, that the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the Disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the Constitutional government and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to maintain and defend the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease;

And whereas, The Senate of the United States, on the 25th day of July, 1861, adopted a resolution in the words following, viz.:

Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the constitutional government and in arms around the Capital, that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not prosecuted on our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and right of the several States unimpaired; that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease;

And whereas, These resolutions, though not joint or concurrent in form, are substantially identical, and as such may be regarded as having expressed the sense of Congress upon the subject to which they relate;

And whereas, By my proclamation of the 13th day of June last, the insurrection in the State of Tennessee was declared to have been suppressed, the authority of the United States therein to be undisputed, and such United States officers as had been duly commissioned to be in the undisputed exercise of their official functions;

And whereas, There now exists no organized armed resistance of misguided citizens or others to the authority of the United States in the States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida, and the laws can be sustained and enforced therein by the proper civil authority, State or Federal, and the people of the said States are well and loyally disposed, and have conformed, or will conform, in their legislation, to the condition of affairs growing out of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting slavery within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States;

And whereas, In view of the before-recited premises, it is the manifest determination of the American people that no State, of its own will, has the right or power to go out of, or separate itself from, or be separated from, the American Union; and that, therefore, each State ought to remain and constitute an integral part of the United States;

And whereas, The people of the several before-mentioned States have, in the manner aforesaid, given satisfactory evidence that they acquiesce in this sovereign and important restoration of the national unity.

And whereas, It is believed to be a fundamental principle of government, that people who have revolted and who have been overcome and subdued must either be dealt with so as to induce them voluntarily to become friends, or else they must be held by absolute military power or devastated so as to prevent them from ever again doing harm as enemies, which last-named policy is abhorrent to humanity and freedom;

And whereas, The Constitution of the United States provides for constitutional communities only as States and not as territories, dependencies, provinces, or protectorates;

And whereas, Such constituent States must necessarily be, and by the Constitution and laws of the United States are made, equals and placed on like footing as to political rights, immunities, dignity and power with the several States with which they are united;

And whereas, The observance of political equality as a principle of right and justice is well calculated to encourage the people of the aforesaid States to become more and more constant and persevering in their renewed allegiance;

And whereas, Standing armies, military occupation, martial law, military tribunals, and the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, are, in time of peace, dangerous to public liberty, incompatible with the individual rights of the citizens, contrary to the genius and spirit of our free institutions, and exhaustive of the national resources, and ought not, therefore, to be sanctioned or allowed, except in cases of actual necessity for repelling invasion, or suppressing insurrection or rebellion;

And whereas, The policy of the government of the United States, from the beginning of the insurrection to its overthrow and final suppression, has been in conformity with the principles herein set forth and enumerated;

Therefore, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that the insurrection which heretofore existed in the States of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida is at an end, and henceforth is to be so regarded.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, the second day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and of the independence of the United States of America the ninetieth.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

By the President:
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

A Stated Meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at 727 Filbert street, on Fifth day, the 12th of April, at 4 o'clock.

G. M. S. P. JONES.

THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

THE Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention will be held in the City of New York, at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, on Thursday, the 10th of May, at 10 o'clock.

Addresses will be delivered by persons to be hereafter announced.

Those who tell us the republican idea is a failure, do not see the deep gulf between our broad theory and partial legislation; do not see that our Government for the last century has been but the repetition of the old experiments of class and caste. Hence, the failure is not in the principle but in the lack of virtue on our part to apply it.

The question now is, have we the wisdom and conscience, from the present upheavings of our political system, to reconstruct a government on the one enduring basis that has never yet been tried—EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL."

From the proposed class legislation in Congress, it is evident we have not yet learned wisdom from the experience of the past; for while our representatives at Washington are discussing the right of suffrage for the black man, as the only protection to life, liberty and happiness, they deny that "necessity of citizenship" to woman, by proposing to introduce the word "male" into the Federal Constitution. In securing suffrage but to another shade of manhood, while we disfranchise fifteen million tax-payers, we come not one line nearer the republican idea. Can a ballot in the hand of woman, and dignity on her brow, more unsex her than do a sceptre and a crown? Shall an American Congress pay less honor to the daughter of a President than a British Parliament to the daughter of a King? Should not our petitions command as respectful a hearing in a republican Senate, as a speech of Victoria in the House of Lords? Do we not claim that here all men and women are nobles,—all heirs apparent to the throne? The fact that this backward legislation has roused so little thought or protest from the women of the country, but proves what some of our ablest thinkers have already declared, that the greatest barrier to a government of equality, is found in the aristocracy of its women. For while woman holds an ideal position above man and the work of life, poorly imitating the pomp, heraldry and distinctions of an effete European civilization, we as a nation can never realize the divine idea of equality that man in his highest moments has enunciated to the world.

To build a true republic, the church and the home must undergo the same upheaving we now see in the State;—for while our egotism, selfishness, luxury and ease are baptized in the name of him whose life was sacrifice,—while at the family altar we are taught to worship wealth, power and position, rather than humanity, it is vain to talk of a republican government:—The fair fruits of liberty, equality and fraternity must be blighted in the bud, till cherished in the heart of woman.

At this hour the nation needs the highest thought and inspiration of a true womanhood infused into every vein and artery of its life;—and woman needs a broader, deeper education, such as a pure religion and lofty patriotism alone can give. From the baptism of this second revolution, should not woman come forth with new strength and dignity, clothed in all those "rights, privileges and immunities" that shall best enable her to fulfil her highest duties to Humanity, her Country, her Family and Herself.

In behalf of the National Woman's Right's Central Committee.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Pres.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY Sec.

New York (48 Beekman st.), March 31, 1866.

CONGRESS.

NOT much is doing of interest to STANDARD readers. Mustering the forces for the vote in the Senate to veto the veto of the President is the present work, mainly.

On Tuesday Mr. Sumner called up the following resolution presented by him on Monday:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster-General be instructed to report to the Senate, so far as the record of their respective departments will allow, whether at any time since the report of December any persons have been permitted to enter upon the duties of office and receive the emoluments thereof, without taking the oath prescribed by act of Congress, or if they have taken it by adding thereto explanations, or if they have altered the oath that the alteration they have made; and if such things have been done, then to report the names of such persons, the oaths they have taken, and the reasons for allowing the same.

Mr. Hendricks inquired of Mr. Sumner if there was any reason for calling for such information.

Mr. Sumner said that on last Saturday he called on the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and was told by him that the oath had in many cases been modified to suit persons in the South.

Mr. Hendricks did not see the necessity for passing such a resolution. He believed the Secretary of the Treasury to have done his duty, and to be an able and efficient officer.

Mr. Sumner said there was a law requiring a certain oath from all officers in the employ of the Government, and no Cabinet officer had a right to dispense with it. The yeas and nays were demanded on the adoption, and it was adopted by yeas, 25; nays, 9.

Mr. Sumner also called up the bill to authorize the President of the United States to transfer, upon a valuation to be fixed by the Secretary of the navy, a gunboat to the Government of Liberia, which was passed.

In the House of Representatives the struggle between Mr. Dodge and Mr. Brooks of this city, as to right of seat still continues. Hopes are entertained that a decision may be reached this week, first week in the fifth month of the session.

FOREIGN.

THE N. Y. *World* thinks there is prospect of a great and speedy war in Europe. It says:

"The news from Europe is full of interest. Prussia and Austria are exchanging hostile notes, mustering armies on their respective frontiers, and the next steamer may bring us 'the clash of resounding arms.' There is, consequently, excitement on the stock exchanges of Europe; the funds are falling; and a pause has been given to speculative enterprises."

The *World* continues:

"The cause of this quarrel is no mystery. It relates to the disposition of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were won by the combined German armies from Denmark. Austria is willing to divide the spoils, to make the Duchies an independent power, or even to give Prussia the lion's share, including the harbor of Kiel; but Prussia insists upon annexing both the Duchies to her own dominions, and will make no concessions to either Austria or the German Confederation. Should Von Bismarck succeed in this daring but dishonest scheme, it will make Prussia the master of Germany, and degrade Austria to the position of a third-rate power. Should a war break out between these two powers it would almost inevitably involve the rest of Europe. Austria's difficulty would be Italy's opportunity and a dash would probably be made at Venetia. Indeed, there are so many grave possibilities growing out of this war that the news by the next steamer will be looked for with eager interest."

The following is from the continent, through several sources.

Vienna, March 4, Correspondence Journal of Frankfort.

Military arrangements of the greatest importance, and portending an impending rupture between the two great German powers, have been adopted by Austria. In a few days *you may expect to hear of the movement of a large Austrian force towards the Prussian frontier. An order for the concentration of 100,000 troops on the frontier of Silesia has already been dispatched from Vienna.*

From the Borsenhalle.

The tension between Austria and Prussia has reached its most extreme point. It will be impossible to conceal much longer the secret which has led to the military arrangements which have been adopted by Austria, a portion of which has already been put in execution.

THE BRITISH CABINET URGING MODERATION.
From the Vienna Debatte.

The British cabinet sent a dispatch to Berlin, pointing out in very strong terms the grave responsibility which would rest upon Prussia if that power should provoke a war in Europe.

THE PRUSSIAN MILITARY SUPPORT VON BISMARCK
From the Cologne Gazette, March 15.

The situation is serious, and the tension between Austria and Prussia is rather increasing than diminishing. The policy of Herr Von Bismarck is more acceptable in high quarters than heretofore. General Manteuffel has deserted the section of the friends of Austria, and the military circles around the King incline to the side of the President of the Council. The ordinance relative to the plots of the Augustenburg party is a grave symptom, as it may possibly give rise to a state of war. The diplomatists are busy in every court in Europe.

BOLD BUT SOUND WORDS.

THE *American Baptist*, in an able review of the Veto of the Civil Rights bill, uses such language as this, fully justified by the general scope of the article:

"If there is any difference between the ends aimed at by President Johnson and Jefferson Davis, we should like to have it pointed out. There is indeed a slight difference in the means: Johnson thinks the Union is the means by which to secure State Rights; Davis took the other course. But there is this to be said for Davis, that he sought to gain his object through the Union as long as there was any hope of succeeding, and it was only when he despaired of this that he reluctantly turned to the idea of a separate confederacy, and thought to accomplish by fighting what he could not effect by a political warfare. President Lincoln and Gen. Grant having demonstrated the folly of the slaveholders in resorting to arms, Andrew Johnson offers to become their agent in compassing their ends by the more peaceable channel of politics. His position as President gives him advantages that Jeff. Davis never possessed, and the rebels and copperheads, believing that he will succeed, are to a man jubilant over the prospect. We do not believe he can carry out his plans without a war, any more than Davis could.

* * * * * * *

"We are glad to understand where the President belongs. We thank him for so clearly and reasonably informing the nation *that he does not consider the government of the Republic entrusted to Congress*, and holds it no crime to wipe out those acts of legislation which the Constitution affirms to be 'the supreme law of the land.' We have hitherto regarded the hints thrown out, that Andrew Johnson would assume the office of dictator, as mere suspicion. *But here we have, over his own signature, principles that as [illegible] the Government, as the principles that precipitated the South into the rebellion.* It only needs the fitting time and occasion, and the doings of Congress can be set aside with a wave of the hand. If rebel judges, marshals and sheriffs can violate the laws of Congress with impunity, it requires no great stretch of discernment to see that a President can do it. We are glad that Congress have received this timely warning. If, with such dangers hanging over their heads, they vote an adjournment and close up the session, upon them will fall the responsibility of any calamity that may occur."

FRANK AVOWALS.—The Selma (Alabama) *Times* lays down the following platform, as the one which it believes the South now stands upon:

The South is now arraigned before the Congressional tribunal to answer in the case of Radicalism vs. the South, upon the charge of present disloyalty to the Government.

Taking it for granted that the prisoner at the bar pleads "not guilty," the Court has called the witnesses for the prosecution, and they depose in substance as follows:

"The South regrets not the rebellion, and feels conscious of no wrong." Certainly not, and never expects to.

"The majority are not kind, and can hardly be called friendly." Scarcely.

"They exhibit an ill feeling to the Union men and negroes?" "To the Union men," very probably—"to the negroes," no.

"They have no more respect or love for the Government than during the war." If Andrew Johnson be the Government, we deny the charge; if the Radicals make the Government, the charge is correct.

"But submit as a necessity." That's so.

"Though they would prefer a re-establishment of the Confederacy." Perhaps if put to a vote of the people, Confederacy or no Confederacy, it would go Confederacy.

"They wish to have the control of their States in their own hands." Most assuredly.

How stands the truth in the case then? As follows: The South regrets not the rebellion, and feels conscious of no wrong, but she accepts her present position with sincerity.

She cannot yet receive kindly on a social footing the officers of the army and Northern visitors, but she has more real kindly feeling for the negroes at this time than the people of the North.

The South, looking at her desolations, and her ground wrinkled over with hillocks beneath which sleep her sons slain in battle, must feel much as did Sir Isaac Newton when his pet dog had set his manuscripts on fire and destroyed the labors of many years. "O Tray, how little thou knowest the evil thou hast done!"

DIED.

REMOND.—In Greenwood, Mass., on Thursday of last week, WENDELL PHILLIPS REMOND, son of Charles L. and Lizzie Remond—a beautiful boy, of rare promise, bright far beyond his few years. Our esteemed friends share our heartfelt sympathy in this hour of their deep affliction.

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Miscellaneous Department.

HELEN GREY

BY CHRISTINA O. ROSETTI.

Because one loves you, Helen Grey,
Is that a reason you should pout,
And like a March wind veer about,
And frown, and say your shrewish say?
Don't strain the cord until it snaps,
Don't split the sound heart with your wedge,
Don't cut your fingers with the edge
Of your keen wit; you may, perhaps.

Because you're handsome, Helen Grey
Is that a reason to be proud?
Your eyes are bold, your laugh is loud,
Your steps go mincing on their way;
But so you miss that modest charm
Which is the surest charm of all:
Take heed, you may yet trip and fall,
And no man care to stretch his arm.

Stoop from your cold height, Helen Grey.
Come down, and take a lowlier place,
Come down, to fill it now with grace
Come down you must perforce some day:
For years cannot be kept at bay,
And fading years will make you old:
Then in your turn will men seem cold,
When you yourself are nipped and gray.

—*MacMillan's Magazine.*

THE FRENCH LEGISLATIVE BODY.

SKETCHES OF THE LEADING ORATORS.

Now that the Legislative Body is settling down to work, it may be interesting to learn something of the personal aspect and character of the assembly. Every visitor to Paris knows the imposing Greek edifice which stands on the south side of the Place de la Concorde, and which, in spite of numerous revolutions, is still popularly known rather as the Bourbon Palace than by its official title of Palace of the Legislative Body. Although the sittings of the Chamber are declared to be public by the decree of Nov. 24, 1860, it is far from easy to obtain admission to the debates. There is a gallery for the friends of the President, another for the Senators, a third for the Diplomatic Body, a fourth for the officers of the army and one for the public. The last, however, affords room for only twenty persons at the utmost, even when closely and uncomfortably packed. The Salle des Pas Perdus serves as ante-chamber to the hall where the legislators meet, and corresponds to the body of the House of Commons. Here used to come last year a number of advocates, journalists, landed gentlemen, and others—many of them ex-deputies haunting the outskirts of the scene now closed to them, or candidates aspiring to the honor of a seat within. They talked with such deputies as they knew, brought and carried gossip, and if excluded from the inner sanctum at least had the satisfaction of being only just outside, where they could rub shoulders with the elect as they passed out and in, and could hear the echo of a speaker more than usually sonorous in his tones. The majority, however, fancied that the sympathies of these visitors did not lean to their side, and various efforts have been made to get them shut out. The Duke de Morny would not interfere, but the first act of the new President has been to banish from the Salle des Pas Perdus, the guard-room, and the corridors, all except the deputies themselves. If you wish to see a deputy, either to talk with him, or to request an order for the strangers' gallery, you are shown into a little parlor, where you can write a note to him and await an answer. If he is disposed to meet you, you can go to him in the lobby, but you must retire as soon as the interview is over.

The hall in which the deputies meet is the same as that in which they used to assemble under the monarchy of July. It is semicircular in shape, and has accommodation for four or five hundred members. The Legislative body under the Second Republic, which was more numerous, sat in a large hall improvised for the occasion in the court at the back of the Palace, which was therefore nicknamed *la salle de carton*. In addressing the House, the deputies no longer mount the tribune, but speak from their own places. Fortunately, the chamber is well adapted for hearing and only a very thin or feeble voice fails to reach the ears of the audience.

The President, seated on high, overlooking all the rest, from his conspicuous position, naturally attracts the first glance of the visitor. Indeed, in the Duke de Morny's time, the ladies used to be more occupied in watching the President than in listening to the debate, while the Duke, on his part, was always provided with an opera glass to scan the fair spectators. Count Walewski is much less impressive in appearance than his predecessor. He is not without elegance, but it strikes you as artificial and dandified. In features, he is unmistakably of the Napoleonic type (his reputed parentage is well known) but rather feeble and faded. As he passes through the double file of soldiers who present arms in his honor, on his way to the Chamber, between two and three in the afternoon, the usual honor of meeting, he marches as if impressed with the dignity of his position, but the grand air fades off after he has been a little while on his throne, and he lounges through the rest of the sitting undisguisedly bored and *blase*. He does not preside according to the traditions of the office, joining smartly and impressively in the debates, schooling the deputies as Morny did, like a pedagogue with his pupils—now awing them by a sharp rebuke or grave reminder, now indulging in half contemptuous banter, or firing off an epigram. During the second sitting of this year he was moved to reply by some hard hits at the irregularity of his position. Twice he half rose as if to speak, but hesitated and then sank back into his seat. It is too much exertion for him even to ring his bell—the symbol of presidential authority. When there is any disorder he gets the ushers to call for silence. Usually soft and good natured in his manners, he is apt to lose command of himself when really irritated. On the whole it is doubtful whether the Government made a prudent choice in committing the guidance and control of an assembly, by no means so tractable as it used to be, to such hands. To-day he had a curious encounter with M. Glais-Bizoin. The speaker, discussing the Mexican question, said that the empire was supported only by bayonets. The President, waking from a sort of doze, caught the word "empire," and thought it was the French one that was meant. So he rebuked the orator for the stigma he had thrown on it, while a score of voices pointed out the error. "Oh! I see." said M. Walewski, sinking back abashed into his seat.

Although the President from his position arrests attention as it were, the first person whom the eye of the visitor seeks out among the throng of deputies is almost certain to be M. Thiers. There he is—a small man, rather thick for his height, with a solid looking square intellectual head, covered with short white hair; cheeks whiskerless, complexion florid, mouth firm set but delicate, and the square chin full of force and determination. His speeches, announced long before they are delivered, just as an important piece is "underlined" at the theatre, are expected with impatient curiosity. There is always a keen contest for orders to the stranger's galleries for the day when it is advertised he will speak, and those who are fortunate enough to obtain admission rejoice as over a prize in a rich lottery. The position he held under the Monarchy secures him the sympathy of the Conservatives, the "old parties," which his "History of the Consulate and Empire" gains him a respectful hearing from even the most enthusiastic *chauvins*. Besides, his powers as an orator are sufficient to command attention alike from those who listen with delight to the eloquent expression of sentiments in which they concur, and from those who sit in nervous apprehension of another stroke of that trenchant tongue. There is something really fascinating in the clearness with which he explains questions which are little understood by the majority of his colleagues, and scarcely at all by the public. His speech, rapid without being confused or indistinct, is somewhat *criarde* and monotonous in tone; but there is such variety in his style, such ease in his delivery, he is so pleasantly familiar and yet spirited, or, when occasion warrants, fervent, that the listener yields to the charm in spite of himself—in fact, it is like the spell of a seductive conversation. If, at first, the high-pitched tones of the voice sound rather unmusically, you soon forget to notice this as he proceeds. Even in the height of his most oratorical passages he never loses his perfect ease and naturalness of manner. M. Thiers's powers of endurance are very remarkable. He can speak for three or four hours on the most difficult and complicated subjects without betraying any indication of serious fatigue. Once in the hour, perhaps, he will take a little sip of claret, which he substitutes for the customary *eau sucree*. In 1847, M. Thiers, in the discussion on the Spanish marriages, spoke for nearly seven hours without stopping, and without any movement of impatience being shown by an assembly, the majority of whom held opinions quite adverse to those he was defending. M. Thiers has taken his old place in the left centre of the Chamber, but the interest with which he is regarded is due rather to his historical position, his literary fame, and oratorical power than to his rank as a representative politician. M. Theirs's recent speech seemed to produce less effect than most of those he has delivered in previous sessions. It occupied two hours and a half, with a pause of five minutes. The first part of the speech was very fine. He insisted that the liberties of France required development. Accepting the present dynasty for the sake of settled order, and conscious that any new revolution would be an adjournment of liberty, France appealed to the Emperor to consolidate his own position by bestowing greater freedom on his subjects. The rights claimed were personal freedom, freedom of the press, and electoral freedom. That the national will should be properly respected, it was necessary that it should be the rule of action of the Government; and where there was a permanent sovereign that could be attained only by having responsible Ministers, who could be changed when they did not represent public opinion. That the Government had attempted too much in its paternal care of the people, and had not succeeded very well, was shown by its conduct in regard to Mexico, Rome, etc. The second half of the speech was an attack on treaties of The "Left," properly so called, comprising deputies of the old Republican party, reckons from twelve to fifteen members. Although this section is quite insignificant in numbers, and exercises little influence within the Chamber compared with that upon the public out of doors, they deserve precedence in an analysis of the House. In the first place, they sit exactly under the public gallery, and moreover they generally bear the brunt of the debates. MM. Jules Favre, Picard, Pelletan, and Glais-Bizoin are the chief orators of this group.

M. Jules Favre is indefatigable both as an advocate and as a politician. The sittings of the legislative body, at which he is rarely absent, never lead him to desert his clients and his briefs. Hurrying from a long and weary pleading at the bar, he throws himself with unabated force into the debates of the Chamber. So rapid is often the transition, that M. Favre forgets his whereabouts, and addresses the Chamber as the court, while a malicious titter arises from the ministerial benches. But if he sometimes fancies he is still pleading to justice, he never forgets that here his client is his country, and that it is for the national liberties he holds a brief. M. Favre's eloquence betrays more art than passion. His brilliant images and telling epigrams are delivered in tones of measured cadence. He speaks rather slowly for a Frenchman, pronouncing each word with precision, caressing it, as it were, for an instant with the tongue, and launching it carefully upon the audience. A striking phrase is often reserved so as to bring a sentence to a sensational close. But many of his best sayings are due to the intolerant interjections of the majority, that provoke him into retorts which are the more effective from being so unexpected, and obviously unprepared. His voice is well pitched, but, when he first begins to speak, a little husky, and broken by a painful cough. But by degrees his voice recovers itself, and the stinging words come forth sharp and clear, in a steady, rhythmic flow. It is unnecessary to retrace M. Jules Favre's political career, for it is so well known. Under the Republic of 1848 his place was always in the Mountain.

Younger and less experienced than M. Favre in public life, M. Ernest Picard ranks next to him in reputation on this side of the Chamber. Until he became a deputy in 1857, he was known only as an advocate in good practice. Smart, quick, and witty, M. Picard belongs to the lighter order of parliamentary combatants. He has less elevation than M. Favre, whose leadership he willingly allows, but he is superior in his keen eye for an opportunity and promptitude in availing himself of it. He is also more practical in his views of public affairs. He speaks with great coolness and self-possession, and always expresses himself clearly and distinctly. At first his adversaries affected to take no serious heed of his attacks, but he soon succeeded by his lucid statements and solid argument in making his weight felt, for, though full of *espieglerie*, he is never capricious, and keeps his aim steadily in view. He is the ordinary advanced guard of the Opposition on the great field days, when the finishing blow is reserved for one of the heavier and more forcible members of the party; but he is especially valuable in the more familiar debates, by the precision with which he sets forth the object of dispute. His voice is full and sonorous; and his face, although somewhat puffed, open and sympathetic in expression.

M. Glais-Bizoin, who fills with less ability an analogous part, is a curious contrast to M. Picard. A small, angular sort of head and a thin shrill voice suggest a degree of physical inferiority which is oddly combined with a giddy vehemence that often places him at the mercy of a hostile majority. His strength lies in an original, well-disciplined mind, and in his moral dignity of character. His long parliamentary experience also gives authority to his remarks. Born in 1789, he began under the Restoration to distinguish himself in the Council General of the Northern Coasts on the side of the Democratic opposition. He held his seat as deputy for that department continously from 1830 to 1851, and since the election of 1863, which restored him to the Chamber, he has been a valuable addition to his party.

M. Pelletan, who made his first entrance into the Chamber at the same time that M. Glais-Bizoin returned to it, owes his position to his ability as a journalist. He has tried his skill—in some instances with success—in almost every branch of letters, from fiction to philosophy. As a politician and philosopher he is too much under the influence of a romantic imagination, mingled curiously with a touch of Calvinistic severity. His metaphorical and rather didactic style of speech, which might do very well in a popular assembly, is scarcely adapted to a cold and worldly audience like the Legislative body. His first essays in the Chamber, full of scriptural imagery and singularly outspoken phrases, were laughed at by the irreverent deputies. Since then he has acquired greater control over himself, and has shown that there is in him the stuff of even a better speaker than writer. There is a contagious ardor about him, and he is not wanting either in talent or ingenuity. He is a tall, muscular man, with a black beard beginning to be a little grizzled, and full, brilliant eyes. He stands slightly bent when addressing the House. His debut in literature was made under the auspices of M. de Lamartine. One of his latest works is a criticism on Proudhon, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which by no means came up to the high expectations entertained of it, being decidedly crude and scrappy.

The Slave Trade.—Doctor Livingstone thus describes a slave party which was set at liberty by the travellers:

"A long line of manacled men, women and children came wending their way round the hill and into the valley, on the side of which the village stood. The black drivers, armed with muskets and bedecked with various articles of finery, marched jauntily in the front, middle and rear of the line; some of them blowing exultant notes out of long tin horns. They seemed to feel that they were doing a very noble thing, and might proudly march with an air of triumph; but the instant the fellows caught a glimpse of the English, they darted off like mad into the forest; so fast, indeed, that we caught but a glimpse of their red caps and the soles of their feet. The chief of the party alone remained; and he, from being in front, had his hand tightly grasped by a Makololo! He proved to be a well-known slave of the late commandant at Tette, and for some time our own attendant while there. On asking him how he obtained these captives, he replied he had bought them; but on our inquiring of the people themselves, all save four, said they had been captured in war. While this inquiry was going on, he bolted too. The captives knelt down, and, in their way of expressing thanks, clapped their hands with great energy. They were thus left entirely on our hands, and knives were soon busy at work cutting the women and children loose. It was more difficult to cut the men adrift, as each had his neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long, and kept in by an iron rod, which was riveted at both ends across the throat. With a saw, luckily in the bishop's baggage, one by one the men were sawn out into freedom."

The track of a "great Portuguese slave agent" was marked by death and destruction.

"Dead bodies floated past us daily, and in the mornings the paddles had to be cleared of corpses, caught by the floats during the night. For scores of miles the entire population of the valley was swept away by this savage Mariano, who is again, as he was before, the great Portuguese slave agent. It made the heart ache to see the wide-spread desolation; the river banks, once so populous, all silent; the villages burned down, and an oppressive stillness reigning where formerly crowds of eager sellers appeared with the various products of their industry. Here and there might be seen on the bank a small dreary, deserted shed, where had sat day after day, a starving fisherman, until the rising waters drove the fish from their haunts, and left him to die. Tingane had been defeated; his people had been killed, kidnapped, and forced to flee from their villages. There were a few wretched survivors in a village above the Ruo, but the majority of the populat[illegible] of dead bodie[illegible] lay beside the [illegible] had fallen a[illegible] boys and girls, with dull, dead eye[illegible] beside some of the huts. A few more miserable days of their terrible hunger, and they would be with the dead."

MR. LUNT'S ESSENCE OF THE BOSTON COURIER.

——"The time has been,
That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
And there an end."
—*Macbeth, Act 3, Scene 4.*

The maxim, *nil de mortuis nisi bonum*, has its limitations. It applies especially and exclusively to men who *stay* dead. Those cannot come under its benign protection who revisit the pale glimpses of the moon after once shuffling off this mortal coil. Even the ghost of Hamlet's father was fairly the subject of remark and of unseemly comment.

On the demise of the Boston *Courier* the maxim was generally acceded to, and, as few men could speak well of it while living, they wisely held their tongues when it died, while the friends of that journal, if it had any in its last days, were disposed to smother their grief and pocket their losses in silence. The *Transcript*, it is true, having no great respect for the Latin tongue (they would even "speak disrespectfully of the equator"), did indulge in some mortuary reflections, and gave a not very flattering account of our late contemporary. But, in general, there was silence—expressive silence; in this journal, at least, no word was spoken.

And now the *Courier* has reappeared! Not exactly in the old form—ghostly appearances are usually different from the characters they represent—but the doctrines, the learning, the peculiar wit, the dreary platitudes, in short, the leading editorials of the defunct newspaper are actually worked over, rehashed, warmed up and spread be- [illegible] certain; a proceeding like this clearly opens the whole question, and the sins of the deceased are fair subjects of free and frank discussion. But we are not disposed to avail ourselves of the liberty. If the author has found any pleasure in diluting his old "leaders" and reproducing his old ideas, nobody is disposed to complain, however we may wonder at his taste.

The work is well written. Mr. Lunt discourses with a good deal of power, in a flowing style, which is not always logical, but is that of a scholar; he knows what he wants to say and he says it with clearness and force. The book, moreover, has one characteristic which will surprise some of our readers. It is one of the most amusing affairs that has appeared since the war commenced. And, what is the best part of it, the author is entirely unconscious of any such effect. This adds to the zest, just as the best story teller is he who never laughs at his own jests, but maintains an imperturbable gravity while the company is in a roar.

There is a solemn pomp about Mr. Lunt, when he discusses political topics, that is inexpressibly droll. The air of gravity with which he announces propositions that are dead and buried—so dead and so buried, that the bringing them up above ground offends the olfactory organs—compels his readers to laugh till they cry, and they read and re-read his sentences to make sure that they get the meaning and that he is really in earnest, all the while holding their noses, as a protection against the odors arising from the untimely exhumation. Then there is a ponderous self-conceit, and a patronizing way of dealing with eminent men (witness the remarks on President Lincoln, who he says "was incapable of any wide range of thought, or, in fact, of obtaining any broad grasp of general ideas"—"he was infirm of purpose"—"his thought ran in narrow channels," etc.), a sturdy obstinancy in opposing ideas universally received as true, an elephantine march into the regions of pure nonsense, that are irresistibly comic. Not even the "madly used Malvoleo" was more abused while "practising behaviour to his own shadow."

Can anything be more juicy than Mr. Lunt's dealing with the proceedings in Kansas, the stopping of the mails, the annexation of Texas, the John Brown raid? Is there in recent literature anything more delicious than the reference to Mrs. Stowe, the criticism on Longfellow, the suggestion as to the validity of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, the general defence of slavery ("to the negro in the South, the benefits of such a condition far out-weighed its drawbacks and disadvantages"), the allusion to Mr. Jefferson and the ordinance of 1787, the suggestion that Dr. Franklin would have known better than to have signed the petition of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1790, if he had "re-examined or reflected upon the provisions of the Constitution, which, shortly beforehand, he had taken so active a part in framing!" In short, everywhere in the book one is tempted to exclaim with the mistress of Do-the-boys-Hall over the brimstone and molasses, "here's richness!"

Mr. Lunt more than insinuates that the negroes as a class are so constituted by nature, and in this country also by habit, "that the use of freedom cannot but prove injurious to themselves and others," and he quotes in illustration of his doctrines a recent anecdote from a Georgia newspaper: "Coming," says the writer, "to Atlanta, on Monday last, I saw an old freedwoman lying on the side of the road, dead, and two younger ones standing by her remains. I asked what had been the matter with her. The reply from one of the girls was, 'she perish to def, sir; but she free, dough.'" Yes, thanks be to God, in spite of Mr. Lunt and those of his stripe, North and South, the undying spirit of liberty still lingers in this childlike and simple race. The yearning for something above their forlorn condition—the hope of something better in store—has kept them (some of them) alive, although footsore and weary, on their hard journey to the better land. There was a world of meaning, which the Georgia editor and his Massachusetts commentator cannot understand, in the reply of the young woman by the side of her dead companion—a touching pathos that goes straight to every manly heart,—"*She perish to def, sir; but she free, dough!*"

It has been publicly stated that Mr. Lunt is going to a Virginian college to be installed as a professor under Robert E. Lee, and it has been supposed that this book was intended to aid him in such a result. We doubt it. The author, with all his faults, is not a cunning manœuverer; there can be no doubt that he has here expressed his real sentiments, and he has done it in a manly way. Besides, such books as this will not hereafter be of much aid to Northern men at the South. The rebels have been sufficiently deceived by such writers in regard to the real character and intentions of the North, so as to thoroughly distrust them hereafter. By placing reliance on the writings of Mr. Lunt and men like him, they have suffered enough without repeating the experiment. They have [illegible] tics [illegible] man [illegible] shou[illegible] A sp[illegible] amo[illegible] field [illegible] room for expansion. The mountain oak cannot flourish in a flower garden. When some one remarked to Dr. Johnson that Miss Knight, the author of Dinarbas, intended to leave England and settle in France, "She is right, sir," said the great moralist, "Miss Knight is too big for an island."

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* *The Origin of the Late War*—Traced from the beginning of the Constitution to the revolt of the Southern States. By *George Lunt*. New York: 1866.

Chinese Juggling.—While walking on the bank of the river this afternoon, near the junction with the Grand Canal, I saw some clever juggling. A boy, about fourteen years of age, performed the needle trick in an exceedingly expert manner. He commenced by sticking a dozen of common sewing needles upon the end of a piece of wood, and showed them to the lookers-on. I examined one of them, and found it to be an ordinary sharp-pointed needle. Having done this, he placed them, one after the other, between his lips, and sucked them slowly into his mouth; and, to all appearance, swallowed them. He then walked round the circle with his mouth open, and allowed the people to look into it; but nothing was to be seen of the needles. He then took a crystal ball, about the size of a walnut, and, placing it between his teeth, drew it into his mouth, and, to all appearance, swallowed it—as he opened his mouth, and it was not visible. He then made an effort as if bringing it up from his stomach, and ejected it from his mouth—repeating this performance several times. He next took a long piece of thread, passed it up one nostril, and brought the end out of his mouth, moving it backward and forward by the two ends—the one hanging out of his nostril, and the other out of his mouth. He then pulled the string out altogether, introduced it again into his nostril by snuffing it in, and s[illegible] to swallow the whole piece of string. He again swallowed the [illegible]ass ball ejected it, and immediately afterward drew the thread out of his mouth with all the needles strung upon it. This is really a clever trick, showing wonderful powers of stowing things away in the mouth—the more so, as he was talking the whole time. A great amount of skill is exhibited, and no small degree of risk must be run in performing this trick, as Mr. Lockhart mentions a case that occurred at Shanghae, where the needles that had been introduced into the mouth, ready threaded, slipped down and became impacted into the back part of the throat, and caused death the fifth day afterward.—*Life in China.*

VERDI, THE COMPOSER.

A letter from Paris to the New Orleans *Picayune*, gives the following as the latest pen and ink portrrait of M. Verdi:

"Quite tall, spare rather than fleshy, a strong, energetic head, which reminds one of Salvator Rosa's brigand chiefs—such is Verdi. His glance is fatal and legendary, thick eyebrows cover his eyes with their mysterious shade. His nose is thick rather than large; from it two wrinkles come down to the chin like a surrow plowed by disdain. A beard black as jet hides an ironical smile. His broad, vierile brow is crowned by hair which frizzles like seaweed. The general expression of his face is hard, severe, haughty; it denotes will, courage, distrust. Verdi is a man of untarnished honor and proverbial shyness. He has, besides his art, three affections lodged alone in his heart of hearts. His country, reading, and his country seat, Saint Agatha, which is really a palace. Fleeing contact with society, parties, dinners, balls, extracting compliments and puffs, he is truly an odd and puzzling character. One Verdi is the Verdi who is the same with everybody; the stiff, rough, abrupt, restless, scowling man; icy to mere acquaintances, never expressing an opinion, especially about musical mat[illegible]; shivering at the sight of an album and at the [illegible] of a portrait; in fine, an odd stick. Nobody [illegible] come near him at rehearsals, and he quarrels [illegible]geously three times a day with the manager. [illegible]s not the least mercy on singers; pitiless and [illegible]ritical, he makes them begin again and again, until they are utterly exhausted. The least thing throws him into a passion and excites his nervous irritability. He is the nightmare of the orchestra of the opera. Nevertheless, as after all, his object is a perfect performance of his work, the artists who accuse him of brutality, and by yielding to his exigencies and by uniting their zeal to his sacred fire. He will not allow the least change to be made by them in his work. At the rehearsals of 'Les Vepres Seciliennes,' Mous. Obin, discontented with his part, returned Verdi as good as he gave, whereupon Verdi suspended everything until Obin wrote him a letter of excuses. The obstinacy on both sides lasted a month—a whole month without a rehearsal! 'Twas not Verdi who yielded. The other Verdi is a gentle, amiable man, perfectly courteous, fond of talking, but only with his most intimate friends; but this Verdi has never been seen except by three or four friends—for these friends he would do anything."

PARIS GOSSIP.

When Jupiter frowns the earth quakes with fear. Emile Girardin has executed his threat! He has left the *Presse* for ever and ever, and gone over to the *Liberté*, a journal which but a fortnight ago could boast of but 800 subscribers, and now prints 8,000, the utmost number that its limited means and material can possibly supply. Already has it taken the very first place amongst the political journals of the capital. Girardin, who was born a journalist, while other men have had to learn the art, and study it long before they attain perfection, has resolved to keep the price of *La Liberté* at two sous. His hope of gain resides in the advertisements at one centime the line per hundred insertions. The idea is a new one, and any novelty presented to the stolid brain of a Paris tradesman is a hazardous venture. But Girardin, to whom nothing is new, is about to organize already a second impression of the paper. As he has just realized a sum of nearly three million of francs in an English speculation, he has an immense advantage over his brother editors, and no longer follows journalism as a trade, but as a pleasure—or, rather, as he says prosely, "To give pleasure to the public, who cannot do without me." Emile declared, in his farewell address in the *Presse* to the public, of whom he has always been the *enfant gâté*, that the unwearying persecutions to which he has been subjected on the part of the "censure" render the post of editor of a first-rate journal untenable for a man of any talent or independence; and being aware of the firm intention maintained by the Government of destroying the whole Parisian press, he finds it more compatible with his dignity to withdraw than to suffer his paper to be killed under him and he thrown to the ground with a shock. Emile calls to mind the various episodes in the history of the *Presse* in which he has borne a part. He declares that, in spite of the danger and perils to which at various intervals he has been exposed, he has never flinched from his duty. In 1848 he was imprisoned with Persigny, when the *Presse* was suspended for three months. In 1850 he was prosecuted for defending the law of universal suffrage. In 1850 he stopped his journal after the *coup d'état*. In 1852 he received a warning, which was repeated three times, and during the whole of that year he was assailed with anonymous letters, threatening murder should he attempt to thwart the project of the party which was bent on setting Prince Louis Bonaparte on the throne. But all this is of little import compared to the influence which now is weighing upon the Paris press, by which it is gagged and garroted, bound and secured by bonds tightened more and more until it has not power to reason even on its own disgrace and discomfiture. The history of Girardin's determination is so entirely French that it is worthy of record. Arsène Houssaye, one of the writers in the *Presse*, being at the *bal masqué* at the Opera disguised as a Pierrot, a figure entirely white from top to toe, with enormous buttons as big as saucers all down the front of his shirt, and a deep frill of lace round the bottom of his loose trousers, was informed by a very pretty masker, whose prattle had greatly amused him during the dance, that Emile Girardin had refused to accompany her in consequence of his occupation in writing a thundering article for the paper to appear the next day. The lady's babble was light and lively, and under cover of the mask spared neither friend nor foe, so that Arsène Houssaye had but little trouble in gathering from the merry sparkling talk in which she indulged every particular of the article which was to make such immense sensation when printed. Now, Arsène Houssaye is an agreeable writer, loves to keep well and all secure with the powers that be, so that the idea of Girardin's temerity shocked him to an immense degree, all the more that he is a man of large fortune, and that the principal source of that fortune is derived from the numerous shares he holds in the *Presse*. Less than this would throw a man off his balance, especially when dancing the *Tulipe Orageuse* with a very vivacious partner, and Arsène flew from the turbulent scene [illegible]eatest alarm. Without changing his [illegible]ostume he drove to Girardin's house at [illegible] It was about three o'clock in the morn[illegible] servants made a great difficulty to let [illegible] that unseemly hour and in that unseemly [illegible]e extraordinary effect of which was cer[illegible] much increased by the agitated manner betrayed by the visitor. But the urgency of the case admitted of no denial, and Arsene managed to make his way into the hall up the stairs and into the room where Emile was supposed to be sleeping, always with the suspicion of having indulged in an overdose of punch while at the ball, and followed by the whole herd of drowsy servants and accompanied by the chimes of Madame Girardin's bell raising an affrighted peal at the unwonted stir in the household. The bedroom was attained, however, and Girardin himself appeared all disturbed and distracted on the threshold. He was neither in bed, however, nor sleeping, but had been aroused from his bureau, where he had been all night working with Rouy, the responsible editor of the paper, upon the very article mentioned by the frolicksome little witch at the Opera ball. "This is madness," exclaimed Arsène, as in the pride of authorship Emile began to declaim most fervent passages in the article, while Rouy, spectator of the comical scene, stood by actually bursting with laughter. Then stood Emile Girardin in dressing gown and slippers, his head tied up in an orange-colored foulard, speaking out with powerful accent and dramatic gesture the energetic production which was to rehabilitate the *Presse* on the morrow. There stood Arsène Houssaye in his foolish looking Pierrot dress, with sleeves so long that the hand remains covered beneath the fluttering ruffles, remonstrating with his superior, and disputing the right to ruin the shareholders by his rash defence of the journalists of Paris; and behind the whole establishment of yawning lacquays, who looked on, wondering which was the maddest or most drunk of the two gentlemen who stood before them. The scene ended, however, in the most obstinate assertion on the one hand, and the most violent recrimination on the other, and in the determination on the part of Emile to send the ob[illegible]cle to the paper where it appeared, to [illegible]or to the hearts of the shareholders and [illegible]n to every circle in Paris! The break-[illegible] the *Presse* is regarded as the sign of dissolution of Prince Napoleon's party, as Emile Girardin was the chief sustainer of the policy professed at the Palais Royal. It seems that a decided rupture has taken place between the Emperor and his cousin, and that the latter has determined to throw off all allegiance to the Tuileries, being fully convinced that the empire is hurrying to its ruin, and the republic, of which he means to be President as a matter of course, is near at hand. The shoal on which domestic harmony was wrecked appears to have been the permission to raise a legion for the service of the Pope, always a favorite whim of her Majesty's, who has been some little time in obtaining it, and the promise given in the name of the Prince Imperial to leave the guns and all the *materiel de guerre* belonging to the French army in Rome, as a present to his Holiness when the troops shall be recalled. This determination appears to have irritated Plon Plon to so great a degree that he was led into the expression of some of the sublimest truths conveyed in the homeliest language he had ever uttered. When he was reminded of the spiritual tie which binds the little Prince to his Holiness, Plon Plon replied abruptly, "You remember that the Pope is your son's godfather, and forget that Victor Emmanuel is my father-in-law." It is said that Plon Plon intends to make an artistic tour in Italy, and then to retire to Prangins, where his wife and family are to be established while waiting for events, felt by all to be not far distant, which will decide the position of Italy with regard to her friends as well as her enemies.

MR. SEWARD'S POLICY.

Special Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

Washington, March 22.

Several journals having seen fit to ridicule certain statements made in these letters in connection with the course of Secretary Seward, it may not be out of place to refer to the matter again. It is useless to deny that many of the truest men here regard Mr. Seward as the most dangerous man in the Government to the best interests of the country, and there are many also who are convinced that he is using Mr. Johnson for purposes of his own, and that had it not been for his advice the present relations of the President to Congress would never have had an existence. In searching for an explanation of Mr. Seward's course, some who have given the matter much attention of late became convinced that it was a move made indirectly for the next Presidency. It was for the purpose of grouping some facts in Mr. Seward's course with some statements of leading politicians in the South, and leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions, that the former letter was written.

It may be remembered the statement was made that in *November last* in Alabama, a prominent Southern politician stated that the leaders in the South had concluded that they must carry the next Presidential election, that to do so they must run a Northern man, and one who would be certain to carry New York; that his former course regarding slavery was perfectly immaterial, *provided he would give them pledges beforehand;* that they had fixed on their man, and opened negotiations with him which looked very promising; and, finally, that the man in question was William H. Seward. The following facts, when added to this, give additional significance to it:

In *July last*, an ex-rebel officer of note in Western Tennessee, in friendly conversation upon Southern politics, and the course which the South was to pursue, said to a Union officer: "In three years you will be the rebels and we will be the Government." In explanation, he said that the South would have the next President; that the course of Mr. Seward through the war had pleased them more than that of any other high official in the Government, and that he was also an "available man" for the South.

The same matter was presented during the past Summer in a more general form in the conversation of another rebel officer and politician on the cars south of Nashville. The person speaking this time living in a distant part of the State from the officer first referred to.

In *September last* one of the leading clergymen of the South in conversation at the headquarters of the Freedman's Bureau in one of the principal cities of the South, talked this whole matter over, except that he did not assert that any arrangement had been entered into to make Mr. Seward President. He, however, reviewed Mr. Seward's whole course, and said that his kindness to the South and his forbearance had been a subject of common remark and praise in private conversation from the time of his interference with the relief of Fort Sumter to the close of the contest.

Before any publicity had been given to the statements of the first letter the matter of Mr. Seward for next President and the negotiations to secure it formed the subject of a conversation at Charlotte, North Carolina, in which the principal speaker was one of the prominent citizens of that State.

Here, then, are five conversations all agreeing with each other, held at widely separated places, by men who were in no way connected with each other, all of these men of position and influence, and all of whose names and associations could be given if it were necessary to do so. Those who reported the conversation are men who do not even know that the others have said a word upon the subject, if, indeed, they have any acquaintance whatever.

To copy the above with "reprobation" and call it "stuff," may satisfy the editor of the Chicago *Republican* of its falsity. It would be well if he could dispose of some of his own attempts to secure political preferment as easily. The only "stuff" in any way connected with the matters referred to was the outrageous and indecent profanity of Mr. Seward in his expressions concerning Mr. Johnson and Congress.

REPEATING PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS.

There has been an attempt made to throw discredit upon the reported statements of Mr. Seward and to characterize them as "tattle." They were in no sense tattle, but were forced upon those who heard them in the Secretary's place of business, where the persons who heard them were transacting business, and the discourtesy of the affair attaches wholly to the party who obliged a Congressman to listen to an attack upon Congress, and sneering references to the President, both rendered obnoxious by the most violent oaths. When such things occur in the office of the Secretary of State, the country has a right to know them, and a people whose moral sense is outraged by such things has a right to express its indignation. Too many matters of this kind are carefully covered up from the public gaze.

But even if conversations should be withheld from the public, none can object to the detail of a purely official transaction with Mr. Seward as Secretary of State. A well-known citizen, some two months ago, took a recommendation to him for a certain important position, signed by the delegation from his own State and also by most of the Tennessee delegation. Mr. Seward read it, and said: "By God, sir, I wish *you* were from Tennessee; I would appoint you at once. I want to show the Northern people that there is such a thing as a Southern *State*."

H. V. N. B.

Women.—Theodore Parker in one of his sermons uttered the following remarks touching women:

"There are three classes of women:

"First, domestic drudges, who are wholly taken up in the material details of their housekeeping and child-keeping. Their housekeeping is a trade, and no more; and after they have done that, there is no more which they can do. In New England it is a small class, getting less every year.

"Next, there are domestic dolls, wholly taken up with the vain show that delights the eye and ear. They are ornaments of the estate. Similar toys, I suppose, will one day be more cheaply manufactured at Paris, Nuremberg, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and other toy shops in Europe, out of wax, papier mache, and sold in Boston at the haberdasher's by the dozen. These ask nothing beyond their functions as dolls, and hate all attempts to elevate womankind.

"But there are domestic women, who order a house and are not mere drudges, adorn it and are not mere dolls, but women. Some of these—a great many of them—conjoin the useful of the drudge and the beautiful of the doll into one womanhood, and have a great deal left besides. They are wholly taken up with their functions as housekeeper, wife and mother."

Luther was great as a reformer, learned in theology, brave in controversy; but he was not before his time as an astronomer. Said he, for illustration:

"I am now advertised that a new astronomer is risen, who presumeth to prove that the earth moveth and goeth about—not the firmament, the sun, moon, nor the stars: like as when one sitteth in a coach or in a ship, and is moved, thinketh he sitteth still and resteth, but the earth and the trees go, run, and move themselves. Therefore, thus it goeth when we wean ourselves to our own foolish fancies and conceits. This fool will turn the whole art of astronomy upside down: but the Scripture showeth and teacheth another lesson, where Joshua commandeth the sun to stand still, and not the earth!"

CONSTITUTION WATER

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DIABETES,

Stone in the bladder, Calculus, Gravel, Brick D
Mucous or Milky Discharges after urinating,
Neck of the Bladder, Inflammation of the Kidneys,
Bladder, Strangury and Burning, or Painful Urinating
For these diseases it is truly a sovereign remedy,
cannot be said in its praise. A single dose has been
relieve the most urgent symptoms.
Are you troubled with that distressing pain in
back and through the hips? A teaspoonful a day
tion Water will relieve you like magic.

PHYSICIANS

have long since given up the use of buchu,
in the treatment of these diseases, and only use
want of a better remedy.

CONSTITUTION WATER

has proved itself equal to the task that has dev

DIURETICS

irritate and drench the kidneys, and by constant use
chronic degeneration and confirmed disease.
We present the Constitution Water to the pub
viction that it has no equal in relieving the class
which it has been found so eminently successful
we trust that we shall be rewarded for our efforts
valuable a remedy in a form to meet the require
and physician.
Dysmenorrhœa and Menorrhagia will be spe
Constitution Water.
That disease known as Falling of the Womb, wh
sult of a relaxation of the ligaments of that organ
by a sense of heaviness and dragging pains in the
and at times accompanied by sharp, lancinating
through the parts, will, in all cases, be removed by

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